

THE BODY IS ONE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE
PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN UNITY

BY THE REV.
C. BEAUFORT MOSS

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SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD



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PREFACE

THE aim of this book is not to offer any new or original suggestion for bringing about the reunion of Christendom, but to arouse interest and to provide the facts upon which profitable discussion must be based. It is impossible to write on such a subject without making statements which are open to dispute, but I have tried to be fair to all parties. It may be thought that I have not taken enough account of the movement which calls itself Liberal Christianity or Modernism. I am aware of its importance, but I do not believe that it will prove to be of much value to the work of reunion: because a rationalized Christianity cannot appeal to the mass of ordinary unlearned Christians, by whom reunion must ultimately be brought about: because its denial of the possibility of miracles on *à priori* grounds is unscientific, and rests on a philosophical theory which is incompatible with revealed truth; and because "the spirit which evermore denies" is incapable of carrying out a great spiritual adventure. We shall attain to unity by perceiving and accepting what is true in the beliefs of our brethren: we shall gain nothing by casting away our own heritage.

I have tried to be consistent in my use of the word "Church." My principle has been to spell it with a capital letter when I have meant the visible historical society, the Catholic Church, and with a small letter when I have referred to a local community which is or has been a part of that society, without prejudice to the question whether it is now orthodox or not. By "the church of Rome," I mean, not the whole body of "Roman Catholics," (which I refer to as the Roman Communion or Obedience), but the local church which claims to be "mother and mistress of all churches." I have avoided the modern use of the word "church" in the sense of an independent religious body. I have used the word "Romanist" in

preference to "Roman Catholic," as being shorter and more consistent with my own position as an Anglican priest.

I wish to acknowledge with much gratitude the kindness and sympathy of those who have helped me ; especially the Bishop of London, who has allowed me to dedicate this book to him ; Dr. Darwell Stone, the Principal of Pusey House, who read the whole book in manuscript, and made several suggestions and criticisms ; the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, Secretary of the Eastern Churches Committee, who read Chapter VI and made several important corrections ; the Rev. Ernest Evans, and Mr. Arthur Spencer ; and most of all my mother, without whose advice and encouragement at all stages the book would probably never have been written.

C. B. M.

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DEDICATED, WITH HIS PERMISSION, TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

ARTHUR FOLEY

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON
PRESIDENT OF THE ANGLICAN AND
EASTERN ASSOCIATION

WHO HAS TAKEN A LEADING PART IN
EVERY ATTEMPT TO RESTORE THE
VISIBLE UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM
WHICH HAS BEEN CONSISTENT WITH
THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CATHOLIC
CHURCH

THE BODY IS ONE

BECAUSE there is but one Truth|:
Because there is but one Banner :
Because there is but one Light :
Because we have with us our youth
Once, and one chance and one manner
Of service, and then the night :
Because we have found not yet
Any way for the world to follow
Save only that ancient Way ;
Whosoever forsake or forget,
Whose faith soever be hollow,
Whose hope soever grow grey.

THE BODY IS ONE

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH

I. A HIGH-CASTE Hindu once came to London to see all that he could of English life in the capital of the British Empire. He was anxious to know something of the religion of the English, and he determined to go to some central point, take a 'bus, and notice all the places of worship that he passed. So he went to the Bank and took the first 'bus that came by. For a minute or two he could see nothing but banks and offices, but he soon passed a curious little tower, peering over what seemed to be an optician's shop, with "Church of St. Ethelburga" written across it in old-fashioned letters. Soon he passed a large brick church in the classical style, again with its name written in large letters on the wall; and opposite it he noticed on a door the words "Friends' Meeting House: Meeting for Worship, Sunday (First Day) at 11.0." After this he saw nothing but shops and theatres for some time: then a lofty classical steeple towered above the houses, and the 'bus stopped by a fine church surrounded by a garden. "You are now," said a friend who was with him, "entering the East End. The three churches you have seen are all over two hundred years old: after this you will see nothing that has not been built within the last century." Almost directly they saw a curious-looking building in the false Gothic style, which proclaimed itself to be "The Baptist Tabernacle." Then, looking down a street on the right, they perceived what looked like a fine cathedral: a smaller church with a spire stood close by. "Yes," said his friend, "that spire belongs to St. Thomas' Church: the building which looks

like a cathedral is really a disused fish market." Next came a conspicuous "Wesleyan Mission": then the words "To St. Augustine's Church" in large letters on a wall drew their attention to the high blue roof of the church overtopping the houses. As they approached a railway arch they noticed "The — Memorial Church," but they could see nothing to show to what denomination it belonged. A few minutes later they came to quite a nest of places of worship. The first was a Congregational church, again in the false Gothic style (which seemed to be the favourite one) with a spire. This was followed by a Salvation Army Citadel, next door to it "St. Joseph's Hospice, served by the Sisters of Charity": and just beyond, on one side of the road, "Baptist Church: Our Motto, Every Woman a Sister": on the other, "St. John Baptist's Catholic Church." Here the 'bus turned to the right, but just beyond the turn was a very conspicuous building with a cross on the top of it. "Is not that another church?" said the Indian. "Yes," said his friend: it belongs to a body called the 'Catholic Apostolic Church,' but they are generally known as Irvingites." Soon they passed a small building which might have been a church, but turned out to be only a parish hall: and then a large and rather elaborate Wesleyan church. After descending a steep bit of hill, the 'bus waited for some minutes at the bottom, where five roads met: up one of the side roads could be seen a Primitive Methodist chapel, and up another the "Catholic Church of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and St. Dominic." Soon after this the 'bus reached its terminus, close to another large and beautiful parish church. The whole ride had taken just half an hour.

"Seventeen churches, belonging to nine different Christian bodies, in half an hour," said the Hindu. "What very religious people you English are! I suppose all the people here go to one or other of these churches. They certainly have enough to choose from." "On the contrary," said his friend, "not ten per cent. of the grown-up people in this part of London go anywhere at all." "Perhaps they can't make up their minds which to go to."

Nine different kinds of Christian places of worship in about six miles of London taken at random! And the

same thing is repeated, over and over again, in every corner of Christendom. There is a town in Mesopotamia which has, or had till recently, five resident bishops of different communities, and three other communities under non-resident bishops.¹ There is said to be in Canada a town of three thousand people in which fifteen different religious bodies have places of worship (though it is fair to add that these probably include Jews, Mormons and other non-Christians). But there is hardly a country in the world where you will not find the same thing, in a greater or less degree. Is this what our Lord intended ?

2. But it is not only the number of different kinds of Christians that attracts our attention, but also the bitterness which they show towards one another, though it is less prominent now than it was in former times. Our Lord bade His disciples love one another : but no one, whether he looked at history or at the modern world, would say that the profession of the Christian religion was a bond of union and not a source of strife. It was the quarrel between the Imperial and Monophysite churches that caused the loss to Christendom of Egypt and Syria, the land where our Lord lived on earth and where the disciples were first called Christians. It was the quarrel between the Roman and Greek churches that allowed the rise of the Turkish Empire, with its cruel oppression, and its thousands of boys and girls sold, century after century, into slavery and dishonour : and it was the same disastrous schism that made the Serb subjects of the Turks prefer the Moslem conqueror to the Christian deliverer, because they knew that the former would tolerate their religion, while the latter would compel them to become " Latin dogs." It is division between Christians that has caused many of the most ferocious wars in European history : the Hussite wars of the fifteenth century in Germany ; the Wars of the League in France ; the War of Independence in the Netherlands, with the horrible atrocities of the Inquisition on one side and the " Beggars " on the other : the Thirty Years' War between Catholics and Protestants in Germany, which put back progress two hundred years in that country : the war between King and Parliament in England : the religious wars in Scotland : the wars of extermination

¹ W. A. Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*.

carried on by the English in Ireland, and the appalling penal code that followed them; the fires of Smithfield, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the persecution of Quakers in New England, the judicial murders of the Popish Plot, the French dragonnades, the Gordon riots. All these, if not entirely due to religious hatred between Christians, were much aggravated by it.

Or look at the world to-day: in country after country religion is not a bond of peace, but the most fruitful cause of strife. The education and disestablishment controversies in England: the religious feud which embitters the political problems of Ireland: the opposition between French and British religious ideals in Canada: the excuse which religious differences give to national persecution in the Near East: all make the man of the world say, "Wherever you find Christians you find bitterness and hatred. Christ's teaching was all very well, but the religious bodies which claim to represent Him have all forgotten it. It may be true that in the Middle Ages the Church tamed the barbarians and united their kingdoms; but nowadays religion produces disorder, not peace. It is to material things, to commerce and finance, to trade unions and social reform, that we must look for peace and progress. The Christian religion has lost its power."

3. Our Lord Jesus Christ was by birth a member of the Congregation of Israel, which was both a nation and a church. In most ancient peoples, and in many parts of the East to this day, Church and Nation are one. To be a member of one is to be a member of the other: and the same authorities administer both religious and secular laws, and know no difference between them. It was to the Congregation of Israel, God's chosen people, not to the individual Israelite, that the promises of the Old Testament were made. To obtain the blessings offered to the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob it was necessary either to be actually descended from them, or to be received into the Jewish nation by circumcision, and thereby to give up one's own nation and become in all things a Jew. No one could be a Jew by religion without being a member of the Israelite nation and church.

Now our Lord came not to destroy, but to fulfil, the law and the prophets. If the Congregation of Israel had

accepted its Messiah when He came, it would simply have continued as the Chosen People, transformed and renewed by the new life which He came to give, and with arms opened to receive all other nations. But, when He came unto His own, His own received Him not, but put Him to death instead: and by doing so lost their right to the promises made to their fathers. The few, however, who did receive Him, "to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believed on His Name." They became the faithful remnant, so often spoken of by the prophets. They were now the true Israel, the true Chosen People. The priests and the people had forfeited their rights: the Apostles and those who gathered with them to the breaking of bread were now the only true inheritors of the promise made to Abraham.

But the New Covenant, like the Old, was not made with individuals, but with the Church. No one could receive the benefits of the Lord's death unless he had been made a member of the Christian Church by baptism. There could be no such thing as a true follower of Christ who was not a member of the new Israel, the Christian Church, and subject to all her laws. But she was no longer a nation-church. She was open to members of all nations. The Jew who became a Christian remained a Jew, the Greek a Greek, the Scythian a Scythian. Only the new religious ties came first, and the old national ones second. There was a new thing in the world: a church which was not connected with any nation, but was open to members of all nations: within which all distinctions of birth, position and nationality ceased: "where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all."

4. In every place where the Gospel of our Lord's death and resurrection was preached, there was gathered a little community, which was the Church in that place: just as in every place where there were Jews, there was a Jewish community and a synagogue. It is this local community which is referred to as "the church of God that is in Corinth" (1 Cor. i. 2), the church in Ephesus (Rev. ii. 1), the church of the Laodiceans (Col. iv. 16). So we read "the churches of Christ salute you" (Rom. xvi. 16), "the care of all the churches" (2 Cor. xi.

28), "the seven churches which are in Asia" (Rev. i. 11). All these communities taken together were the new Chosen People, the Household of God (Eph. ii. 19); they were redeemed by the Son of God with His own Blood, and born again into His family "by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost" (Titus iii. 5): that is, by baptism and confirmation. Each local church was governed by "elders" or priests appointed by the Apostles (Acts xiv. 23), and all were subject to the Apostles, who travelled about from city to city. This is not the place to enter into the vexed question of the organization of the Church immediately after the death of the Apostles. We know very little about that period, and those who are anxious to defend the ministry of the new societies which arose after the Reformation have tried to prove that the same kind of ministry existed in the first and second centuries. The question of the exact nature of the ministry at that time will probably never be settled, for want of evidence. But it seems clear that no man, either before or after the period in dispute, was allowed to perform any sacred function unless he had first been given the right to perform it by those in authority. And all authority was ultimately derived from the Apostles, who received it from our Lord. This is all that the defenders of traditional Christianity require. Whether one man or many had the right to ordain in one city, and what they were called, are points of merely historical interest. Before the middle of the second century we find that each local church was governed by a bishop, who alone had the power to ordain, surrounded by his priests and his deacons: and all the local churches together formed the Catholic Church, the new Israel, now extended to all nations. It is held in some quarters that this result was contrary to our Lord's intention: that the Catholic Church was due to the organizing powers of St. Paul, who drew the whole of Christianity into a wrong channel, from which it did not escape until the Reformation, if indeed it did then. But as those who take this view usually deny the historical truth of all the miracles of the Gospel, including the Virgin Birth of our Lord and His bodily Resurrection, and even refuse to believe in His Godhead, we need not listen to their opinions. This book is not written for anyone who

claims to know more about our Saviour than His Apostles did. We may well be content to err with St. Paul and St. John.

5. But what work did our Lord intend His Church to do in the world? He gave to her the privilege of acting as His deputy on earth in four ways:—

- (i). To lead, in the world of things that can be seen and touched, the chorus of praise and worship to His Father through Himself.
- (ii). To keep as a precious treasure the teaching which He gave to His disciples:
- (iii). To bring all human beings to receive the gift of union with Him, which He died to win for them.
- (iv). To distribute the treasures of divine grace, without which no one can follow Him.

If she is to fulfil His commands she must be united. This is clear from His own words, spoken to His Father on the most solemn night of His life, after the Last Supper and just before His Passion. "And not for these only do I pray, but also for those who believe on Me through their word, that they all may be one (thing), as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that the world may believe that Thou didst send Me." His disciples are to be one, that the world may believe in the divine mission of their Master: and their unity is to be as the unity of the Persons of the Holy Trinity.

6. The Church is to lead the praises of the earth in order that "now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God" (Eph. iii. 10): that is, that the angels and other powers in the spiritual world may know the wonderful purpose of God in the Incarnation by the praise which goes up to Him continually. But how can this be if the worship offered by the Church is full of discords and controversial notes? If instead of one orchestra of praise, it is the voice of a multitude of instruments not agreeing or keeping time with one another? "With the tongue bless we God, even the Father: and therewith curse we men, who are made after the similitude of God. Out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing. My brethren, these things ought not so to be" (St. James iii. 9, 10).

7. The Church is to preserve the teaching delivered to the Apostles.¹ But when each body of Christians has a different view as to what that teaching is, who is to know which has the truth? And there is no body with an indisputable claim that its teaching alone is the true representative of that which was delivered to the Apostles. Moreover a body of Christians which is confined to one nation or a group of nations is very likely to distort the faith, exaggerating the importance of those parts which naturally appeal to its own people, and neglecting other parts which do not appeal to them so strongly. Isolation often leads to heresy.

8. The Church is to proclaim the Gospel to all mankind. But are men likely to accept a message when the messengers cannot agree among themselves? There is no more common, or more telling, argument against the Christian religion, both at home and in the mission field, than the innumerable divisions among Christians. It is said that a Moslem chief was once asked by one of his followers what he was to do with a cock which had taken to preaching Christianity. He ordered the cock to be brought in, and it immediately called out "Din Din el Seyidna Isa" (The true religion is the religion of Jesus). The chief said that it was a miracle: but there were many sects of Christians, and they all claimed to possess the only true religion: till they could agree, no Moslem need do anything.²

9. The Church is to distribute divine grace to the faithful through the sacraments. But how are we to know that we are receiving the grace that is necessary to the life of our souls, when some Christians say that the sacraments administered by other Christians are not true sacraments, and that grace is therefore not certainly conveyed by them? It is this uncertainty about the validity of sacraments which has caused perhaps more distress to the faithful than anything else. And it is the fruit of division.

10. And after all, the Church on earth is only a small part of the Chosen People. There are far more members of it in the unseen world. They are not divided: we cannot imagine it. And now that they know what it is to be

¹ 2 Tim. i. 13; Tit. i. 9; Gal. i. 8; Jude 3.

² W. A. Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*, pp. 164-5.

united, must they not lament our determination to carry on the divisions which were such a hindrance to them on earth? We excuse ourselves for our narrowness by pleading devotion to the memory of our forefathers. Is it not enough that they sinned, that we must try to honour them by keeping their sins in remembrance?

BOOKS

H. F. HAMILTON, *People of God* (2 vols.).

W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, *Catholic Conception of the Church*.

CHAPTER II

THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE

I. WHAT was the early Christian Church like ?

Imagine a secret society, with secret laws, ceremonies, and passwords, drawn from all classes, and bound together for common objects by the closest of ties. Outside, the whole civilized world, full of gorgeous idolatry, absurd superstition, revolting cruelty, and bestial vice, is arrayed against it. To be a Christian is a crime punishable with death: and the excitable mob of an Italian or Levantine city is always ready to demand with threats that the law shall be put in force. Inside, the little community of Christians in each city is a band of brethren, connected with all other churches by the closest bond of fellowship, the life of their Master which all share with one another in the sacrament of His Body and Blood. The nature of that sacrament is a secret, jealously guarded from the outside world, and only revealed to the convert after baptism. Travellers are constantly passing from one church to another, with commendatory letters from their own bishop: these letters admit them everywhere to Communion and to full membership of the local church. Even in those days there were many sects, some of which had split off from the Church, while others had an independent origin. No one was allowed to communicate unless he could show that his own bishop was recognized by the Catholic Church. But Catholics and sectaries alike were criminals liable at any time to be arrested, tortured, and thrown to the lions in the arena, or burnt at the stake. The Church had no headquarters, and no central organization, though quite early the bishops in different countries began to assemble in synods and to pass canons: the local churches were bound together by their common faith and their common life, and by the constant

correspondence which went on between their bishops : also by the knowledge that they possessed the one thing which all men needed and all men were groping for. Though the Empire persecuted them, they were perfectly loyal : they prayed for the Emperor by name at every offering of the Holy Eucharist. They were not, like a modern anarchist society, engaged in a conspiracy against the world : it was the world that was engaged in a conspiracy against them.

Why did the Roman Empire persecute the Church ? In the ancient world one of the chief duties of the state was to win the favour of the gods for its members by the proper ceremonies. This was what the Romans understood by religion. Those who felt the need of personal access to the unseen world took to worshipping some Eastern deity as well, Isis, or Mithras, or Cybele. Every city and every family had its own patron god or goddess : anyone might worship as many deities as he pleased. But the Empire, in order to bind all its subjects together, had instituted the worship of "Rome and the Emperors" in every province with priests, temples, feasts, sacrifices, etc. Every loyal subject was expected to take his share in this worship : and as religion was a matter not of belief or conduct but of ritual, it was inconceivable to the great majority of men that anyone should object to doing so. The only people who did object were the Jews and the Christians. Special exemption was given to the Jews, who were known to be a peculiar, difficult, obstinate, and dangerous race. But no such privilege could be allowed to an obscure sect, not connected with any nation, hated by all classes, and practising secret rites which were generally supposed to include cannibalism and other atrocities. As the Church grew, and her real nature became better known, the opposition of the Empire did not cease. All other religions, all other societies, all other institutions existed by leave of the imperial government, and derived their power from its laws. The Christian Church alone claimed and possessed a power independent of the Roman Empire, and refused to obey the laws of Cæsar when they came into conflict with the laws of God. Therefore, while all around her was decaying, the Church alone grew and thrived, in spite of persecution, because in the Church

alone there was freedom. The Empire knew that its theory of government could not be maintained if there was one free institution within it, and so it did all it could, in ten great persecutions, to destroy the Church ; but in vain.

2. At last the Church became so large that the Empire gave up the attempt to destroy her. In 312 the Emperor Constantine, himself strongly attracted to the Christian religion, issued the Edict of Milan, by which he proclaimed freedom of worship throughout the Empire. But unfortunately freedom of worship was accompanied by imperial favour. The Empire, unable to destroy the Church, took her into partnership. The result was that crowds of converts swarmed to join the Emperor's religion : and the moral and religious standard of the Church was permanently lowered. Bound to the decaying Empire, she was like a living man tied to a corpse. Within a few years it was heathen and heretical worship that was forbidden : the Church from being persecuted had become the persecutor. The first instance of execution for heresy by Christians was that of the Priscillianists in 385, which St. Martin of Tours, to his eternal honour, did all he could to prevent. Another sign of change was the power and wealth of the principal bishops. The bishops of Rome and Alexandria lived magnificently, and their political power became so great as almost to challenge the authority of the Emperor. The election of Damasus to the bishopric of Rome in 366 was accompanied by a free fight between his followers and those of his rival Ursinus, in which a number of men and women were killed. It was almost inevitable that the Emperors should constantly interfere with the affairs of the Church. It was in this age that the great definitions of the Creed as to our Lord's Incarnation were being made. During the fourth century the Church was distracted by the struggle against the followers of Arius, who denied the Godhead of our Lord. In many cities there were several bishops, each claiming to be the true successor of the Apostles, and each teaching a different doctrine. We can tell now which was right : but it must have been very difficult for ordinary people at the time. And, because theology was mixed up with politics, the most sacred names and words became the catchwords

of political parties: different Emperors took action on different sides in the most abstruse theological controversies. The four great Church Councils of Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), and Chalcedon (451), were all summoned by Emperors to settle great theological questions which threatened to disturb the peace of the Empire. We may well marvel at the way in which the Holy Spirit guided wrangling bishops and persecuting Emperors to the definitions which alone could guard the faith of future generations in our Saviour as perfect God and perfect Man.

3. The union of Church and State was carried still further by St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in North Africa, and the greatest of Christian theologians since St. Paul. When Rome was sacked by Alaric and his Goths in 410, the heathen said that this terrible catastrophe was due to the anger of the gods because the Empire had abandoned them and become Christian. In answer to this accusation St. Augustine wrote his book *De Civitate Dei* (On the City, or State, of God), which had the most profound influence on the whole of Western Europe for the next twelve hundred years. The old Empire, he said, had perished, for it had rested on the worship of false gods: but in its place had arisen a new Empire, the City of God. This new Empire was to fulfil the duties of both Church and State, and was to extend until it included the whole human race. The kingdoms of this world had given place to the Kingdom of God.

This theory of St. Augustine's was accepted universally in Western Europe during the centuries that followed. Church and State were one. The so-called struggles between Church and State during the Middle Ages were struggles between two sets of officials in one community, like a struggle between the Admiralty and the Local Government Board. A "churchman" in the Middle Ages meant, not, as now, a member of the Church, for all men were members of the Church, but a clergyman. This view, in a slightly altered form, survived the Reformation. It was the teaching of Hooker, the great Elizabethan divine. It is still held, as a survival, by some people in England who do not realize the facts of the age in which they live. It was a great ideal, and it may have been

necessary for medieval conditions. But it makes the Kingdom of God a kingdom of this world: and it also makes religious freedom impossible. It is true that the Christian life is the life of a community: and if the whole community is Christian, as it was in the Middle Ages, life has a unity and a beauty which cannot be attained under modern conditions. We look back with regret to the time when there was no division between sacred and secular, because Christianity was accepted by all: when the festivals of the Church were public holidays, because everyone had to go to church on those days: when the guilds, the trades unions of the time, went to church as a matter of course, to keep the feast of their patron saint: when the building or furnishing of the parish church was a matter of the keenest interest, not only to the religious-minded, but to the whole population. But for this unity of life a great price was paid. No one could refuse to practise the religion of the Church without being a traitor to the State. The medieval State punished heretics, as the modern State punishes anarchist conspirators or foreign spies, because their success would be its destruction. Therefore religious freedom is impossible, wherever Church and State are regarded as one. The modern Erastian, who claims that every Englishman has a right to the privileges of the church of England, because he is an Englishman, no matter what his belief may be, is a survival from the Middle Ages. He is trying to achieve the medieval unity of life under modern conditions by making the Church as wide as possible so as to include almost everybody. But he can never succeed in including everybody: for he must exclude the professed atheist from his State church (unless, as in heathen Rome, religious practice is to have no connexion with belief), and he must also exclude all forms of Catholic Christianity, to which definite dogmas and the power of exclusion are essential. At the same time he makes the membership of his church a thing so indefinite that it is valueless. Membership of the Church in the Middle Ages was anything but indefinite: but then all were agreed that anyone who would not accept the doctrine of the Church should cease to enjoy the protection of the State. Such a person was usually sentenced to be burned at the stake.

4. In the age which succeeded the Edict of Milan the Church was more elaborately organized than it had been in the second century.¹ From very early days the bishops used to meet in synods, the bishop of the chief city in the province being president. Bishops whose sees had been founded by Apostles had greater influence than others: the Bishop of Rome most of all, because his see had been founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, and was situated in the capital of the Empire. As the number of bishoprics increased they were grouped into provinces, with the same boundaries as the civil provinces: the bishop of the capital of the province became Metropolitan or Archbishop. The provinces were united in larger divisions, of which the heads were called Exarchs in the East, Primates in the West: and at last the whole Church within the Roman Empire was divided into five patriarchates—Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. This arrangement was not complete until the Council of Chalcedon in 451, which made Jerusalem a patriarchate and raised Constantinople to the second place. The clergy of each diocese, the bishops of each province, met in synod at more or less regular intervals: supreme power was vested in the General Council, which was only summoned when some great question had to be decided. All these synods passed laws or "canons," which were binding both on the clergy and on the laity as far as the authority of the synod which passed them extended. But no synod, not even a General Council, could give any decision contrary to Holy Scripture or to the traditional teaching which had come down from the Apostles.

5. After the death of Constantine the Western part of the Roman Empire, which spoke Latin, and the Eastern part, which spoke Greek, were seldom governed by the same Emperor, and began to drift apart. The Eastern or Greek part was the richer, the more civilized, and the more Christian of the two: and its capital, Constantinople, took a larger and larger part in the affairs both of the world and of the Church. All the General Councils except one were held at Constantinople or in the immediate neighbourhood. As the western provinces, Britain, Gaul, Spain,

¹ C. H. Turner, in *Cambridge Mediæval History*, vol. i., chap. vi., "Organization of the Church,"

Africa, fell one by one into the hands of the barbarian invaders, Constantinople became the real centre of the Empire. By the fifth century the Roman Empire was nominally Christian: to be a Roman subject and to be a Catholic Christian were becoming the same thing in the eyes of the world. Those who for any reason were opposed to the Government usually threw their opposition into a theological form. Thus the Goths and Vandals professed Arianism, to which they had been converted from heathenism by the great Arian missionary Ulfilas: the Donatist sect in Africa was vehemently nationalist. But the most important revolts against the Imperialized Church, and the only ones which have survived till to-day, were those of Syria and Egypt.

The two great theological schools of the Empire were at Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, and at Antioch, the capital of Syria. The school of Antioch was critical and rationalist, the school of Alexandria was mystical. In both countries the language of the capital was Greek, but the country people used the native tongue, both in conversation and in the services of the Church. Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the leaders of the school of Antioch, tended to hold the view that the Son of Mary was not Himself Divine but that the Word of God descended upon Him and made Him so. When their pupil Nestorius became Patriarch of Constantinople, and preached this doctrine there, refusing to call the Blessed Virgin "Theotokos" (Mother of God), he met with violent opposition, which was led by St. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, the greatest theologian of his time.¹ A General Council assembled at Ephesus and condemned Nestorius, who was at once sent into exile by the Emperor. This was in 431. The Syrian bishops, under John, Patriarch of Antioch, at first refused to accept the decree of the council, but they were soon reconciled to St. Cyril. Some years later, when St. Cyril was dead, Eutyches, an old monk in Constantinople, began to teach that our Lord had only one Nature, and that His Humanity was absorbed into His

¹ It is now held by some scholars that Nestorius was not personally guilty of the heresy attributed to him. However this may be, it was and is very attractive to one type of mind, and its condemnation was essential.

Godhead. Dioscorus, St. Cyril's successor at Alexandria, though he would not go quite so far as Eutyches, resolutely maintained that our Lord had but one Nature (*monē physis*), whence he and his followers were called Monophysites. A General Council met at Chalcedon, close to Constantinople, in 451, and under the influence of St. Leo, Bishop of Rome, one of the few Popes who have also been great theologians, condemned Dioscorus and Eutyches, while carefully reaffirming the decrees of Ephesus. The greater part of the Egyptian church, including all the Coptic-speaking people, with the Ethiopian or Abyssinian church which had received the Gospel from Egypt, refused to accept the decrees of Chalcedon: and a large number of the Syrian bishops took the same view, as did also the national church of Armenia. Confusion caused by the difficulty of translating Greek theological terms into other languages may have been partly to blame; but it is hard to avoid the view that the Egyptian and Syrian enthusiasm for Monophysite doctrine was inspired by national feeling: that zeal for their own language, liturgies, customs, and civilization, and hatred of the Greeks who had ruled them so long, was the real reason for their resistance. They set up rival patriarchs; and the "Melkite" (imperial) bishops, who accepted the decrees of Chalcedon, were only maintained with difficulty in Syria and Egypt by the Emperor. He had to choose between two evils. If he wished to conciliate Syria and Egypt, he must throw over the Council of Chalcedon, and that meant that the Bishop of Rome would excommunicate him. If he was to be in communion with Rome, he would have Syria and Egypt always in revolt. And we find that the Emperors suited their theology to their political circumstances. In 476 the last Western Emperor was deposed, and Italy was conquered by the barbarians. The only Roman Emperor left was the ruler of Constantinople and the East. The next Emperors accordingly tried to reconcile the Monophysites, and were excommunicated by the Pope for doing so. When Belisarius, the great Roman general, drove the Goths from Italy and the Vandals from Africa, his master, the Emperor Justinian, returned to orthodoxy and the decrees of Chalcedon, in order to be reconciled with Rome. Later on, when Italy was again lost, the Emperor Heraclius

made a fresh attempt to conciliate the Monophysites, but the only result was the formation of the new sect of the Monothelites. It is noticeable that no party in this controversy would be content with less than complete victory. There can be no doubt that Rome and the Council of Chalcedon were right on the theological point: but the bitterness of the opposition is a sign that the grounds of the quarrel were national as well as theological.

6. All this time we have been thinking only of the part of the Church within the Roman Empire. But beyond its eastern frontier, in the kingdom of Persia, there were dioceses which were in full communion with the rest of the Church, but whose history was entirely different. The King of Persia and the majority of his subjects were Zoroastrians, and the Church was barely tolerated: death was the penalty for conversion from Zoroastrianism to Christianity. The Christians of Persia were independent of the patriarchs in the Roman Empire¹: they had their own patriarch or Catholicos at Seleucia on the Tigris. Their language was Syriac: their theological terms and thought were different from those of the Greeks: their liturgy was peculiar to themselves, and they claimed to have received it from the Apostles. The East Syrian bishops were not invited to General Councils, which were for the Roman Empire only: but they accepted the decrees of Nicæa and Constantinople. Of the Council of Ephesus they had no official knowledge: they neither accepted nor rejected it; but they did formally accept the decrees of Chalcedon.² They were strongly in sympathy with the theology of Antioch, and revered the memory of Diodore and Theodore: they were equally opposed to Egyptian theology and St. Cyril. But they had little communication with the Roman Empire, and we cannot be sure that their knowledge of the controversies which went on there was exact. When the theological school at Edessa in Syria was dissolved as being Nestorian, Barsuma, Bishop of Nisibis on the other side of the frontier, refounded it in his own city. But we cannot say that the Persian, or rather East Syrian, church was actually Nestorian. She never adopted officially any unorthodox teaching, and her reverence for

¹ W. A. Wigram, *History of the Assyrian Church*, p. 92.

² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

Nestorius does not commit her to his teaching any more than the English church, by showing at times great veneration for Cranmer as a martyr, is committed to any of the opinions of that rather erratic theologian.¹

When the church of Constantinople turned Monophysite for the benefit of the Emperor's political schemes, the East Syrians naturally repudiated her: and they were glad to be able to show their King, who was usually at war with the Empire and inclined to regard them as traitors, that, though Christians, they were not the same kind of Christians as the enemy. When Constantinople returned to orthodoxy, the division had gone too far to be easily healed (for the East Syrians Constantinople was "the West": Rome was entirely beyond their ken). So they remained permanently separated from the rest of Christendom. Their missions extended all across Asia to India and China: in the eleventh century they were the largest communion in Christendom, but they were almost destroyed by the Tartars in the fourteenth century, and there remain only a few of them in the mountains of Kurdistan, with one see in India.

7. At the end of the sixth century, say in 597, the year that St. Augustine landed in England, the Christian world was divided thus. There were the churches of what had been the Roman Empire, from the English Channel to the Euphrates: in the West they spoke Latin and looked to Rome as their leader; in the East they spoke Greek and were grouped round the sees of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, but Alexandria and Antioch were generally Monophysite, and Jerusalem was small, so that Constantinople was becoming more and more the capital of Greek Christendom. The national churches of Egypt, Syria, and Armenia were Monophysite, regarding, and regarded by, the Greeks and Latins as heretics: they had their own theology, customs and liturgies. Beyond the Euphrates there was the East Syrian church, independent of all others, under her own patriarch who lived at Seleucia on the Tigris: she had her own theology, customs and liturgy, and she was practically out of communion with all other churches: her branches extended to India and Central Asia. To these we may

¹ W. A. Wigram, *History of the Assyrian Church*, pp. 143 ff.

perhaps add the Celtic churches of Ireland and Wales in the far North West, cut off from the rest of Christendom by the still heathen English. Their liturgical language was Latin, but they had their own customs and organization, different from those of the churches of what had been the Empire. They were in communion with Rome and held that see in the highest reverence, but they were not for practical purposes under its jurisdiction. So that we find the Latin, Greek, Egyptian, Ethiopic, Armenian, West Syrian, East Syrian, and Celtic churches : each with her own rite and liturgy (except that the Celts used the Latin language and a Gallican liturgy), with her own customs, organization, and theology : the Egyptian, Ethiopic and Syrian churches differing in their views of our Lord's Incarnation, but in all other matters in agreement with the rest. There were also innumerable sects, none of which have survived : but all these separate forms of Christianity still exist, except the Celtic, which was finally brought into line with the rest of Latin Christendom in the twelfth century.

8. This was the state of Christendom when the storm from Arabia broke upon it. Mohammed, the great Arabian prophet, founded his new religion in 622. Within one hundred years of his death his followers had conquered all Western Asia to the borders of India, all North Africa, and most of Spain ; and were only checked when, in 732, they were defeated in the great battle of Tours, in Central France. Wherever Islam, the religion of Mohammed, obtained power, Christians had to choose between death, conversion, and complete political and social subjection. Eastern Christianity fell because it was divided. The Monophysites welcomed the Arabs to Egypt as deliverers from their Greek masters, only to fall into far more crushing slavery. Divided Syria and sect-ridden North Africa became Moslem countries, and are so still. Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were taken ; of the Greek patriarchates only Constantinople remained free. Of Islam it is enough to say that a religion which denies the Godhead of Jesus Christ, conceives of God as an Almighty Sultan, and believes that war, polygamy, divorce (for any reason or none), slavery and conversion by force are expressly commanded or permitted by Him, must always be the deadly foe of Christianity. But the ground that

Islam has won has never been regained (except in Spain, where the Mohammedans were driven out by force) : and not the least reason for working for Christian Unity is that Islam cannot be successfully combated but by the united Church. In the meantime, the national churches of the East had been reduced to slavery, and all hope of their development or reunion was gone for many centuries. The Greek and Latin churches of the Empire were left alone : and the association of the Church with the Roman Empire was more complete than ever.

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CHAPTER III

ROME AND CONSTANTINOPLE

1. THE events described in the last chapter belong to a world which has passed away. There is no longer any Roman Empire. The present Nestorian and Monophysite churches are mere survivals from the ancient world. But in this chapter we are to consider the causes of the great schism which still divides the Latin churches, which acknowledge the Bishop of Rome as their head, from the "Orthodox" churches of the East.

The Roman Empire was divided from the first into two parts: the Greek-speaking provinces of the East and the Latin-speaking provinces of the West. The conquests of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C. had extended the Greek language, Greek civilization, and Greek government to all the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean, and to the interior of Western Asia. Greek became the common language of the civilized world: Greek kings reigned, Greek literature was studied, Greek customs prevailed: every man who wished to rise in the world had to learn Greek. The old languages were used less and less, and those who spoke them were regarded as barbarians. We can see the process going on in the New Testament. From the point of view of the outside world, Cæsarea was the capital of civilized and Greek-speaking Palestine: Jerusalem was the stronghold of a particularly obstinate tribe of barbarians. The chief captain's attitude towards St. Paul changes at once when he hears that he can speak Greek (Acts xxi. 37). The Apostles preached and wrote in Greek; even the Jews outside Palestine (except very keen nationalists like the family of St. Paul, "a Hebrew of the Hebrews") habitually spoke Greek. The Roman conquest had made no difference: Greek continued to be the language of civilized men.

In the western provinces, on the other hand, civiliza-

tion came in with the armies of Rome : and in consequence the language of civilized men was Latin, except in a few districts where there had been Greek colonies. The same process went on in Gaul and Spain and North Africa as in Asia Minor and Syria and Egypt, except that Latin took the place of Greek. Christian literature in Latin begins in the second century A.D. : from that time there were in the Church a Latin theology and a Greek theology, agreeing in essentials, but differing considerably in their point of view. For instance, the Greeks were more interested in the doctrine of God, the meaning of belief in the Holy Trinity, and the manner of our Lord's Incarnation : while the Latin writers and thinkers took more interest in human conduct, and the way in which divine grace is applied to the soul. The Greeks were more speculative, the Latins more practical. The original home of the Church, of course, was in the East, and the proportion of Christians to the whole population was much higher in the East. Almost all the great controversies arose and were thrashed out in the East. All the General Councils were held in the East. Greek was the language of Holy Scripture (all the early Christians used a Greek translation of the Old Testament), and the language of theology : Latin theological terms were translations, sometimes clumsy translations, from the Greek. When Constantine built his new capital, Constantinople, the balance of the Empire was shifted eastward. The Greek and Latin parts of the Empire were separated politically, and this separation became final in 395. But while the Eastern Empire remained firm, the Western Empire was overrun by tribe after tribe of barbarians from Germany. Gaul, Spain, Britain, and North Africa fell into their hands : Rome itself was taken by the Goths in 410, and by the Vandals in 455 : in 476 the last Western Emperor was deposed, and Italy passed into the power of the barbarians. By 555 the Eastern Empire had recovered it, but we cannot wonder if Constantinople, now the capital of the Empire, with its art treasures gathered from all countries, and its glorious new Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom (St. Sophia), still under its Turkish masters the grandest church in the world (may it soon be restored to Christian use!) despised decaying and ruinous Rome. Constantinople was

the new, the Christian Rome, the seat of Empire, the capital of Christendom and of the civilized world. The West had fallen back to its original barbarism. Still more, when in 800 the Pope actually crowned Charles, King of the Franks, the last German tribe to rise to power, as Roman Emperor, did the Greeks despise the Latins as subjects of an usurping barbarian king. The Greek and Latin churches were becoming more and more estranged : neither even took the trouble to study the other's language. The way was being prepared for their separation.

2. We must now turn to the Roman point of view. The early history of the Roman see is a matter of acute controversy, not as to the facts, but as to the interpretation of them. Many Romanist writers start with the assumption that the supremacy of the Pope existed and was generally recognized from the beginning : while Protestant writers sometimes put the other side too strongly. There is no doubt that from the earliest times the see of Rome was regarded as the first see in the Church, partly because it was founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, and possessed their tombs, partly because it was situated in the capital of the Empire. Its high reputation was increased by the number of its early bishops who suffered death for the Faith. The capital was naturally the place of greatest peril in time of persecution. St. Irenæus, about A.D. 180, arguing that it is impossible that the teaching of certain heretics can really be derived from the Apostles, appeals to the unbroken tradition of the Christian churches : and "because it would be too long in such a volume as this to enumerate the successions of all the churches, we point to the tradition of that very great and very ancient and universally known church which was founded and established at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul . . . for to this church, on account of its more influential pre-eminence, it is necessary that every church should resort, that is to say, the faithful, who are from all quarters : and in this church the tradition, which comes from the Apostles, has ever been preserved by those who are from all quarters." ¹ About 268 the heathen Emperor Aurelian, at a time when there was a dispute as to who was the true

¹ Translated by F. W. Puller, *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, p. 19.

Bishop of Antioch, decided that he whom the Bishop of Rome recognized should receive the revenues of the bishopric.¹ But, though the influence of the Bishop of Rome throughout the whole Church was immense, his actual jurisdiction did not extend beyond Italy. The Council of Nicæa in 325 allowed those who had been excommunicated to appeal, if they wished, from their bishop to the provincial synod, but no mention was made of any further appeal: in 343, however, the Council of Sardica permitted a bishop deposed by his colleagues to appeal to Rome for a fresh trial. But this canon was never accepted in the East,² nor in many parts of the West until much later. The real beginning of the Roman patriarchate was a law of the Emperor Valentinian, made before 372, giving accused metropolitans throughout the Western Empire the right of appeal to Rome. This was a law of the State, not of the Church, but it was made at the request of a synod of Italian bishops. Soon after this, in 382, we perceive the first sign of the claim that only those in communion with Rome can be members of the Catholic Church, in a private letter from St. Jerome, then a young man, to Pope Damasus. The next Pope, Siricius, was the first to legislate by means of letters to bishops outside Italy, which were called decretals. But the gradual growth of the patriarchal power of Rome was resisted in many provinces: in 418, for instance, a great council in Africa forbade appeals to Rome on pain of excommunication. About this time the Popes began to claim that the words of our Lord to St. Peter, "On this rock I will build My Church," gave to them, as the successors of St. Peter, rights of jurisdiction over the whole Church: but we do not find this interpretation of St. Matt. xvi. 18 in any writer outside Rome before about 450. The prestige of the Roman see was greatly raised by St. Leo, Bishop of Rome 440-461, whose definition of the manner of our Lord's Incarnation was accepted by the whole Church as its final decision on the Monophysite controversy, and who had by the force of his personality induced Attila, King of the Huns, the most terrible of all the barbarian invaders, to withdraw from

¹ Mgr. Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, chap. xxii.

² When it was accepted by the Council in Trullo, it was taken as referring to New Rome (Constantinople).

Italy. The fact that Rome, alone of the great sees, was always on the right side in the controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries is attributed by Romanists to the special guidance of the Holy Ghost to the Pope as the Teacher of the Church, by others to the fact that the Latins were less speculative and more conservative than the Greeks, and were not mixed up with the quarrels between the great sees of the Eastern Empire. When the Western Empire came to an end, the Pope stepped into the Emperor's place: indeed, he became stronger than the Emperors had been, because his power was not material but moral. In the confused centuries which succeeded the fall of Rome, the Church was the one power in Western Europe which stood unmoved, and the Pope, who was now universally believed to be the successor of St. Peter and the heir to his position, was more and more regarded as the earthly head of the Church. He had inherited the thrones of Cæsar and of St. Peter, and he made the most of his position. It was from Rome that the first mission to the English came, and to Rome that such men as St. Wilfrid, St. Benedict Biscop, and St. Boniface looked for help in their task of civilizing their northern converts. Especially did St. Boniface, the English "Apostle of Germany," extend the influence of Rome wherever he went. When at last Pope Leo III crowned Charles, King of the Franks, as Roman Emperor, at a time when the throne at Constantinople was occupied by a woman (a thing hitherto unheard of), the Latin world was as complete as the Greek. Each side claimed to have the true Roman Emperor: but Constantinople had nothing to set against the claim of the Roman Bishop, generally accepted at that time to be the successor of St. Peter. The claim of Constantinople to have been founded by St. Andrew was not taken seriously.

3. In the ninth century it was no new thing for Rome and Constantinople to be out of communion. During the 529 years between 323 and 852, there had been five schisms, the duration of which amounted in all to 203 years. It is admitted by both sides that in all these disputes Rome was right and Constantinople wrong. The great schism came about in this way. Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicated Bardas, the Regent for the young Emperor, for putting away his lawful wife and continuing,

after being warned, to live in incest with his daughter-in-law : and also refused to allow Theodora, the Emperor's mother, to be forced to become a nun. For this he was deposed, imprisoned in an island, and cruelly beaten to make him resign his bishopric. At that time the most learned and most distinguished of the Emperor's subjects was Photius, whose brother had married the Emperor's aunt. He, though a layman, was persuaded to become Patriarch, and was ordained deacon, priest, and bishop in one day by Gregory of Syracuse, who had been excommunicated by the Pope. Such hurried ordination was not so unusual then as it would be now. Pope Nicholas I sent two legates to enquire into the matter. They accepted the deposition of Ignatius and the appointment of Photius ; probably they were bribed to do so. The Pope, on hearing the true story from Ignatius, deprived his legates of their sees and excommunicated them, and Photius also unless he retired from the bishopric which he had usurped. In his letter he made use, for the first time on record, of a book which professed to be a collection of papal decretals from the first century onwards by one Isidore, but which, though it was constantly appealed to in the Middle Ages as an authority for the recognition of Papal Supremacy in the early centuries, and is still the basis of Roman canon law, has long been known to be a forgery of the eighth century. Photius took no notice of the Pope's letter : but in 867 he excommunicated him and sent to the other Patriarchs a number of accusations against the Latins, of which the most important were that they had added the clause " and the Son " to the Creed, and that they despised married priests. Soon afterwards the Emperor, Michael the Drunkard, was murdered by Basil the Macedonian, who succeeded to the throne, and at once desposed Photius and restored Ignatius. In 869 a Council, regarded by the Latins as the eight General Council, confirmed this. Photius refused to resign and he was excommunicated and imprisoned. On the death of Ignatius in 877 Photius succeeded him. He summoned a Council, which excommunicated the Pope for adding the clause " and the Son " to the Creed, and for claiming that the Bulgarian church belonged to his patriarchate. Photius was deposed again in 886 : and on his death in 891 the schism was healed.

The final breach took place a century and a half later, but in this period, during which Rome sank to the lowest depths of moral corruption ever reached by any great Christian church, there was little communication between the two rival sees. In 1053 Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, made a violent attack on various Latin customs, and closed the Latin monasteries and churches in Constantinople. His object seems to have been to make himself master of the Eastern Empire. The Emperor had no desire to quarrel with the Pope, whose help he wanted against the Norman conquerors of South Italy. Pope Leo IX sent three legates to Constantinople, where they heaped abuse on the Patriarch and his friends. Michael Cerularius removed the Pope's name from the list of those who were prayed for in church; and on July 16, 1054, the Roman legates formally laid on the altar of the cathedral of the Holy Wisdom the excommunication of the Patriarch. The other Patriarchs afterwards united with Michael Cerularius in excommunicating the Pope. The schism has continued ever since.

4. The real cause of the dispute was the ambition of Rome and Constantinople, each of which wanted to be supreme in the Church: but the two chief pretexts on which Constantinople accused Rome of heresy were the clause "and the Son," and the use of unleavened bread in the Holy Communion. The Nicene Creed originally stated that "the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father": to this the word "Filioque" (and the Son) was added, probably first in Spain, and the addition spread through the Latin churches, till at last it was accepted by Rome. We cannot here discuss the very difficult theological point at issue. But the Greeks complained, with a good deal of justice, that as the Creed was made by a General Council, additions ought not to be made to it without the consent of a General Council. The Latins replied that the Pope is above General Councils, and can add to the Creed by his own authority. So we are brought back to the question of Papal Supremacy. It is fair to add that Rome does not ask the Greeks to say the Creed with the addition: but the Greeks cannot understand how Rome can allow different churches in communion with her to use different creeds. As to the question of the bread, it is a disputed point which sort

of bread our Lord used at the Last Supper : but it seems to be more probable that He used unleavened bread. At any rate leavened bread was used always by the Greeks from very early times, while the Latins used either until the ninth century, after which they always used unleavened bread. The Latins have never insisted that the Greeks should follow their custom.

5. The hatred of the Greeks for the Latins was much increased by the treatment of the Eastern Empire by the Crusaders. When Palestine was taken from the Mohammedans it was not restored to the Empire, but the Crusaders governed it themselves, and treated its Christian inhabitants, who in their eyes were Greek schismatics, no better than the Mohammedans had done. But the crowning outrage was the Fourth Crusade. In 1204 the Crusading army was persuaded by the Venetians to leave its proper object, the recovery of Jerusalem, and to attack Constantinople. The great city which had been for so many centuries the bulwark of Christendom and of civilization was taken and sacked by the so-called soldiers of the Cross. They burnt the city, destroyed its priceless art treasures, and desecrated the cathedral, where they conducted a blasphemous mockery of the Greek service, and made a dancing girl dance on the High Altar. Constantinople remained for fifty years in Latin hands, after which the Greeks recovered it. But they never forgot or forgave this horrible outrage, and no attempt at reunion could ever again get even a hearing from the Greek people. They preferred Mohammedan rule to that of the "Latin dogs."

Nevertheless two attempts were made to reunite the Church, one by the Council of Lyons in 1274, and the other by the Council of Florence in 1439. The same thing happened on both occasions. The Greek leaders came to the Council asking for military help against the attacks of the Turks. In return for this they consented to submit to the Pope. The reunion of the Church was celebrated with great rejoicings, and the Greek bishops returned home, only to find that their work was utterly repudiated by their people. After the Council of Florence the reunion lasted for thirty-three years : but the help promised by the Western nations did not come, except a small force which the Pope sent, and in 1453 Constantinople, which had never recovered

from its capture by the Crusaders, was taken by the Turks, and the Eastern Empire came to an end.

6. The schism between Rome and Constantinople was the greatest disaster which has ever befallen the Church of Christ. The dispute which led to it had been prepared for by centuries of distrust and contempt, and was carried on with the utmost violence and want of charity on both sides. It is quite clear that again, as in the Monophysite controversy before, both sides were far more anxious to get their own way than to seek either truth or unity, and that the efforts to bring about reunion failed because the motives of those concerned were more political than spiritual, though the main question at issue, whether the supreme authority in the Church on earth was given to the whole body of bishops or to the Pope, was not one which good-will alone could have determined. The result of the schism was that each side suffered from the absence of the qualities which the other would have supplied. The conservative and mystical Greeks became more conservative and mystical than ever ; the Latin tendency to express religion in terms of law, and to introduce into the government of the Church the despotic methods of the Roman Empire, went on unchecked. Constantinople, which had been for eight centuries the bulwark of Christian Europe against Islam, fell into the hands of the Turks, and with it all the Balkan Peninsula and the neighbouring countries. This has been the source of innumerable wars and of untold misery to the inhabitants of Eastern Europe and Western Asia. Even the Berlin-Bagdad scheme, which was one of the principal causes of the late war, was only possible because of the weakness of the nations which had only recently been delivered from the Turkish yoke. And the existence of that yoke was directly due to the great schism. But we must be careful not to be misled into thinking that some fundamental division of the Church into Eastern and Western underlies this quarrel. The Great Schism was first a breach of communion between the sees of Rome and Constantinople : secondly a dispute in the ecclesiastical sphere between two races, each of which claimed to be the true representative of the Roman Empire. We speak of the " Eastern and Western churches," and we think of Mr. Kipling's line " East is East, and West is West,

and never the twain shall meet " (which was written about an Englishman and an Afghan): and we forget that in using this phrase in Church history we are speaking in terms of the Roman Empire only. It is true that Rome and Constantinople carried with them into the schism the nations to which their missionaries had preached the Gospel, such as England on one side, Russia and Serbia on the other. But those nations were then in their infancy, and were still under the jurisdiction of the great patriarchal sees. The Roman Empire has disappeared: the nations of modern Europe have taken its place. The old dispute between the Eastern and Western Empires has nothing to do with modern Russia or England. No Russian, I suppose, would now say to an English enquirer, as was said to William Palmer in 1841, " You must be reconciled to your own patriarch at Rome before you can be reunited with us." They know that we have not got a patriarch, and that we are no more subject to Rome than they are to Constantinople. The heirs of Photius and Michael Cerularius have received double for all their sins by their long subjection to Turkish tyranny. That subjection was the fault of the Western nations: before it began the Orthodox churches were for centuries the breakwater behind which we were able to build up our church and our civilization in security. Both Empires have come to an end, the Eastern in 1453, the Western, after centuries of shadowy survival, in 1806; even the dynasties which claimed to carry on their traditions at Vienna, Berlin, and Petrograd have now ceased to reign. Their disappearance frees the Church from its age-long association with Cæsar: but while the Eastern ecclesiastical Empire has given place to the free national churches of Russia, Greece, Serbia, etc., in the West " the ghost of the Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof " ¹ is still enthroned at the Vatican.

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¹ Hobbes, *Leviathan*.

CHAPTER IV

THE REFORMATION

I. THE see of Rome, with the churches under its jurisdiction, was given the task of converting the barbarians who overran the Western Empire. That task was accomplished. Missionaries from the Irish church in some cases laid the foundations, but the building that was erected was Roman throughout. The Roman genius for organization covered every country from Sicily to Greenland and from Portugal to Poland with ecclesiastical provinces, each with its archbishop: the provinces were divided into dioceses, the dioceses into parishes: each diocese had its bishop with his cathedral and its chapter, each parish its church and priest. Monasteries and nunneries arose everywhere to receive those who felt called to the higher life of separation from the world and entire devotion to prayer. At the head of all was the Pope, then universally believed to be the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar or representative of Christ on earth, and the Rock on which the Church was built. The Papacy at its best was the one power which stood for justice and mercy in that barbarous age. Fierce barons and tyrannical kings dared not face the Church's excommunication: it was the one check on their lawless wills. They knew that an excommunicated man would be under a cloud during his life, and they believed that, when he died, unless the ban were removed, he would go straight to everlasting fire. The Pope's power had a spiritual, not a material, basis: and as long as it was generally used for righteous ends it held the respect and reverence of Western Europe. But, as time went on, the Papacy began to degenerate. In 1305 Pope Clement V was induced by the King of France to go and live at Avignon.¹ For seventy years he and his successors were the mere creatures of the

¹ Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, vol. i., p. 36.

French Kings: and for forty years more there were two lines of Popes, one at Rome and one at Avignon, excommunicating each other. The Papacy never recovered from the scandal of this schism. In 1415 the Council of Constance, after decreeing that a General Council is superior to the Pope, put its decree into practice by deposing the three men who were then claiming the Papal throne, and by appointing Martin V in their place.¹ But there were many other abuses in the Church with which the Council did not deal: and all through the fifteenth century the cry for "reformation of the Church in head and numbers" was growing louder. There were admitted abuses which were due to the corruption of the time: there were institutions and practices which had suited the conditions of earlier times, but were now out of date: there was the teaching of doctrine which, as the increase of learning began to show plainly, was not in accordance with primitive Christianity. The Popes had long been seeking to break down local rights, and to bring the control of the local churches into their own hands. It came to be thought necessary for every bishop to have his election confirmed by the Pope: and this meant the payment of large sums to the Roman lawyers. The whole of the first year's income of every bishop and parish priest after his appointment was claimed by the Pope.² In England and Scandinavia a tax on every household, called Peter's Pence, was paid to the see of Rome.³ As long as Christendom was first in men's thoughts and their own country second, they did not much object to supporting the central authority in this way. But when national feeling became more powerful, and when, moreover, it was known that the Pope did not use all this money for spiritual purposes, or in the interests of Christendom, but spent it on wars with the other Italian states, to increase his own territory (for since the eighth century the Pope had ruled over an Italian principality called the States of the Church), men complained bitterly that so much money should go out of the country. Again,

¹ This and other medieval Councils are regarded as General Councils by the Romanists.

² Ollard and Crosse, *Dict. of English Church History*, article "Valor Ecclesiasticus."

³ O. and C., *op. cit.*, article "Peter's Pence."

the Popes claimed to appoint to livings in certain cases, and to all bishoprics when the former bishop had been given another diocese, or when they did not approve of the appointment. When Innocent III made Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury in defiance of King John, no one could complain : but later Popes appointed Italians who never went near their bishoprics or parishes. In 1240 the Bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury were asked to find places for three hundred Italians in their dioceses. In England a statute was passed forbidding appointments by the Pope without the King's leave : but the King did not often care to quarrel with the Pope by using his veto. All ecclesiastical lawsuits, which then included those connected with wills or marriages, might be taken to the final court of appeal at Rome : though here again in England the King's leave had to be obtained. In some countries, such as Germany and the Netherlands, there were too few bishops, and those that there were were great temporal princes : the foundation of new dioceses, though badly needed, was contrary to their worldly interests. Many bishoprics and parishes were held at the same time by one man. Cardinal Wolsey, for instance, was Archbishop of York, Bishop of Durham, Bishop of Winchester, Bishop of Tournai in Flanders, Abbot of St. Alban's, and Dean of Lincoln, all at once, while most of his time was taken up with his work as Lord Chancellor of England.¹ In Scotland, several Archbishops of St. Andrew's were illegitimate sons of great nobles, appointed while still in their teens. There were many other abuses of this kind. Errors in doctrine, though not so generally admitted to be wrong, were perhaps more deeply mischievous. It was widely taught that the Sacrament of the Altar was not only the presentation of the One Sacrifice of our Lord's earthly life and death continually being offered in Heaven, but an actual repetition of Calvary. The Church had always taught that it is the duty of Christians to pray for the souls of the dead : but now it was believed that the faithful departed were burning in the flames of Purgatory, and that they would remain there until enough Masses had been said for them, which Masses had to be paid for. The Church had long made use of the universal human love for relics by encouraging devo-

¹ Ollard and Crosse, *op. cit.*, article "Wolsey."

tion to the relics of the saints : but by the beginning of the sixteenth century all Europe swarmed with spurious relics, some of them of a most unedifying kind. Celibacy had long been enforced upon the clergy. This was necessary in feudal times, for otherwise bishoprics and parishes would have descended from father to son, like dukedoms and earldoms : but it resulted in much evil. The Popes of the fifteenth century set a bad example, and the state of some countries may be gathered from the fact when the Scottish bishops met just before the Reformation to discuss reform, it was noticed that only one of them had not had illegitimate children.

The laity had been forbidden to partake of the chalice at Holy Communion since the thirteenth century : the Bohemians (whom we now call Czecho-Slovaks) carried on war against the rest of Europe from 1420 to 1431 for the restoration of the Cup, and at last extorted from the Council of Basle the reluctant permission to communicate in both kinds.

Anyone who attacked the existing abuses ran great risk of being accused of heresy and burnt at the stake. In the Middle Ages a heretic was not merely a man who held unusual or false opinions. In those days Church and State were regarded as one, and all authority and public order rested on the truth of the Catholic Faith. A man who denied that Faith, and tried to spread his views, was aiming at the destruction of the existing order, to say nothing of the everlasting damnation of those whom he persuaded to believe him. We cannot wonder that such men were dealt with as a modern State might deal with an anarchist or Bolshevik conspirator, except that the medieval state was weaker, public order was more easily overthrown, and the manner of punishment was more cruel. But those who were interested in the maintenance of abuses could easily bring charges of heresy against would-be reformers. It was becoming clearer and clearer that reform could not be brought about by the existing machinery of the Church. The hordes of paid officials at Rome were the great obstacle. Even a Pope who wished for better things was powerless : and few of them did. So unpopular was reform at Rome that on the death of Pope Adrian VI (1522-3), who was in favour of it, the citizens sent to his physician,

who was supposed to have poisoned him, a wreath with the inscription "To the Deliverer of his Country."¹

The revival of learning in the fifteenth century, the invention of printing, and the widening of men's horizon by the discovery of America, all increased the general discontent. The satires of Erasmus on the ignorance of the clergy had great influence. Learned and holy men in England and Spain were working for reform on conservative lines. But, as usually happens, the moderate reformers were too late. Continued refusal to put an end to admitted abuses led at last to revolution.

2. In 1517 the Lateran Council, which had been summoned by the Pope, nominally to reform the Church, but really to get rid of certain privileges possessed by the church of France, was dissolved. Little interest had been taken in it: and nothing important had been accomplished. Towards the end of the same year the train of events which was to lead to the Reformation began. John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, was sent by the Pope and the Archbishop of Mayence to sell indulgences in Germany: the proceeds were to be divided between the Pope, for the building of St. Peter's at Rome, and the Archbishop, to pay his debts to the Pope. An indulgence had originally meant that a man who had committed some grievous sin and had been placed under discipline and forbidden to receive the Holy Communion for a certain time, in order that he might make amends in public for the injury his sin had caused to his fellow-Christians, was let off his punishment for some good reason. But in the course of centuries a system had been developed by which the Pope claimed to let men off the punishment due to their sins, not only in this world, but also in Purgatory, by a formal document called an indulgence; and this document could be obtained for money. It was assumed that the act of giving money for such a purpose was a sufficient sign that the person was sorry for his sin. It was not easy to justify this system in practice, and on Oct. 31, 1517, Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk and a Doctor of Theology at the newly founded University of Wittenberg, in Saxony, published a set of ninety-five propositions against the

¹ Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, vol. vi., p. 268. This was the last non-Italian Pope.

abuse of indulgences, which he said he would defend in argument against all comers. This aroused great interest and discussion in Germany: and finally the matter was brought before Pope Leo X, who sent the Italian Cardinal Cajetan to order Luther to withdraw his statements. Cajetan had some sympathy with Luther's views about indulgences, but he had no desire to discuss the matter with him on equal terms. His business was to demand submission. Luther refused to submit: and Cajetan's comment was, "This fellow wants fresher eggs than are to be had in the market." The Pope could not afford to lose the money which the indulgences brought in: his Italian officials could not understand the force of Luther's protest against a great moral abuse; and the Saxon monk was excommunicated. In the meantime Luther's views were developing rapidly. Convinced that no reform could be expected from Rome, he appealed from the Pope to a Council; his appeal was published without his consent, and formed one of the charges of heresy that were made against him. But he did not rest there. "Both Popes and Councils," he said, "have erred: I refuse to obey any authority but Holy Scripture." When the Pope's bull of excommunication arrived, he burnt it publicly in the presence of the professors and students of Wittenberg. He published three books, *To the Christian Nobility of Germany*, *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, *On the Freedom of a Christian Man*, in which he set forth his system. The Church, the Sacraments, the whole system of Christian life as hitherto understood, he regarded as useful but not necessary. The one thing that was necessary was personal faith in Christ, which in itself made man just before God. In 1521 the young Emperor, Charles V, summoned Luther to plead his case before the Diet, the assembly of the German clergy, nobles, and people, in the city of Worms. He went under a safe conduct from the Emperor. He was asked whether he acknowledged his books: he said he did, and was then asked whether he would withdraw them. He answered that he would withdraw nothing, unless it could be refuted by Holy Scripture. "I neither can nor will revoke anything, since to act against conscience is neither safe nor upright. So help me God. Amen."

His safe conduct was respected, but he was outlawed.

The Elector of Saxony had him put for safety in the castle of Wartburg : and he spent his time there in translating the New Testament into German. Most of his countrymen took his part : the Emperor could not crush them, because he needed their help against the Turks, and for other political schemes. Fanatical sects arose, and were denounced by Luther. The down-trodden peasants of Germany revolted against their masters : Luther placed himself on the side of the nobles, and bade them crush the revolt. His view was that all ecclesiastical as well as civil authority rested with the sovereign : every King his own Pope. This doctrine was naturally popular with kings and princes. It is the same as what was afterwards called Erastianism, and it is still the teaching of the German Protestants.

In 1525, Luther broke his vow of celibacy by marrying a nun : and in the same year he "ordained" a deacon. He lived until 1546, and his system spread rapidly all over Germany and Scandinavia, while he had small bodies of followers in every European country.

Luther's central doctrine of "Justification by Faith only" was like a mine, which blew the Catholic system to fragments. He did not mean by this phrase what St. Paul meant by it. To St. Paul faith is the complete submission of the whole self in love and trust to the will of our Lord, the fruits of which are good works. To Luther, faith is the intellectual act of belief in Christ. He had passed through a great spiritual experience, and he held that this experience, and this alone, was sufficient for salvation. The visible Church was, he held, unnecessary : as it had rejected him, he founded a new religious organization. He retained the Sacraments (he recognizes three, Baptism, Penance, and Holy Communion), and much of the ritual and ornaments of the Church ; candles, crucifixes, and in Scandinavia vestments are still used by his followers. He denied that there was any special order of priests : he taught that marriage was in all cases better than celibacy ; he allowed divorce, and, in the case of Philip of Hesse, bigamy. He held the old view that Church and State are one : and the greatest weakness of his system is its bestowal of spiritual power on the civil ruler, by which, for instance, the Emperor William II, like his

ancestors, was "Supreme Bishop" of the Lutherans of Prussia. Lutheranism became the religion of two-thirds of Germany, and of Denmark, Norway, Sweden (where the ancient succession of bishops was retained, but not regarded as essential), Iceland, and Finland.

3. In France and Switzerland the Reformation departed still further from the old religion. Zwingli, the reformer of Zürich, held that the Holy Communion is a memorial feast only: the bread and wine are *not* the Body and Blood of Christ. He laid great stress on the doctrine, which had been taught by Luther and was afterwards developed by Calvin, that men have no freedom of choice, but that God created some men for Heaven and others for Hell. Jean Chauvin, a Frenchman from Picardy, who is generally known as Calvin, the Latinized form of his name, was the great organizer among the Reformers. He thought out a system, as logical as that of Rome, which has had enormous influence on men's minds. The Church, he said, is independent of and superior to the State: it is ruled by presbyters in synod, whose power in all moral and spiritual questions is supreme: and every action in life, even the smallest, must be justified by Scripture. Calvin cared nothing for tradition: the medieval Church was Antichrist, and the synagogue of Satan. But the principal doctrine connected with his name is that referred to above, the denial of free will, which, like all the rest of his system, he claimed to be able to prove from Holy Scripture. Calvin's teaching about God is more like that of Mohammed than that of the Gospel: he believed in a God Who created some of His creatures, for reasons unknown to us, in order that they might burn for ever in Hell: for them there could be no escape from their fate. This doctrine follows logically from belief in the absolute omnipotence of God, and denial of man's free will. If we sin, Calvin would say, it is by God's decree: we have no power of choice. Even so late a writer as Ruskin supposed this doctrine to be orthodox Christianity: and it has driven multitudes into revolt against the Christian Faith. The system to which it belongs is well described by Mr. Chesterton, as "that unique dispensation which theologians call Calvinism and Christians devil-worship."¹ At the same time it is only fair to say

¹ *Charles Dickens*, p. 169.

that the best Calvinists did not emphasize this side of their master's teaching. The peculiar views on morals and on art which we call Puritan are largely due to the influences of Calvin. Theatres, card-playing, and other amusements, especially any relaxation on Sunday, were forbidden absolutely. All ornaments, sacred pictures, and stained glass were destroyed as relics of idolatry. The arrangement of a Lutheran church is much the same as that to which we are accustomed: but a Calvinist church in Holland or Switzerland is very different. What was once the sanctuary is empty, or is occupied by a large pulpit or a monument. The communion table stands at the top of the nave (where we put the litany-desk), and the whole church is as bare and dreary as possible. But Calvinism has two great advantages over Lutheranism. One is that it makes the spiritual power independent of the State; Luther gave the power of excommunication to the "godly prince," but Calvinism stood for the "crown rights of Jesus Christ." The declaration of Melville to King James VI of Scotland that there were two kingdoms in Scotland, that the head of the spiritual kingdom was Christ only, and that in it King James was not a head nor a lord but a member, is a pleasing contrast to Lutheran and, we may add, to the older Anglican submissiveness to the civil power. Here for the first time for centuries we find that Church and State are not believed to be one: though the Calvinist held as fiercely as anyone that it was the business of the State to punish heretics. The second advantage of Calvinism over Lutheranism is that whereas Luther's exaggerated emphasis on Faith made morality of less account, as being "dead works," Calvin laid great stress on conduct, indeed he forbade many things which traditional Christianity considers harmless.

Calvin published his "Institutes," in which his whole system is set forth, in 1535, when he was twenty-two. In the same year he settled in Geneva, which had thrown off the jurisdiction, both temporal and spiritual, of its bishop, and had declared itself an independent republic. From 1541 to his death in 1564 he was the master of Geneva, which seemed about to become the rival of Rome as the religious capital of Europe. His system attracted the logical minds of the French and the Scots as Luther's

would never have done. Calvinism became the religion of those of the Swiss cantons which accepted the Reformation, of some parts of Germany, of Holland, of Scotland, and of the Puritan colonies in America. A powerful minority fought for it in France and England, but in both countries the bulk of the nation, after a long struggle, remained unconvinced.

Lutheranism and Calvinism were the two leading forms which the Reformation took on the Continent. The adherents of Luther became known as Protestants, from the protest of the Lutheran nobles against the decree of the Diet of Speier in 1529: Calvin's followers were generally called "the Reformed." Beside them and from them innumerable sects arose. Most of the religious bodies which we see around us owe their origin to the Continental Reformation: and, whatever their differences may be, are alike in this, that they are new bodies having no connexion with the ancient Church.

4. In England the course of the Reformation was very different from that which it took on the Continent. It came about in this way. Henry VIII was the first English King for more than a century whose title to the throne was not disputed. He married Katharine of Arragon, his brother Arthur's widow, with a dispensation from the Pope. Marriage with a sister-in-law is contrary to the Divine law: and the claim of the Pope to grant dispensations for such marriages was then quite recent.¹ When they had been married thirteen years, during which the King had by no means been faithful to his wife, she had only one daughter living, and it became clear that he could not expect to have a son by her. No queen had ever reigned in England, and the want of a male heir to the throne would mean a disputed succession and probably a civil war. King Henry applied to the Pope for a declaration that his marriage was null and void, as being within the prohibited degrees. This was asking the Pope to strike a heavy blow at his own authority, for the marriage had been sanctioned, with every legal safeguard, by his predecessor. But Italian ingenuity might have found some way out of the difficulty, if it had not happened that in

¹ See F. W. Puller, *Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister*; in this case it was a deceased husband's brother (Lev. xviii. 16).

1528 Pope Clement VII was taken prisoner by the Emperor Charles V, Katharine of Arragon's nephew, whose German and Spanish army had just sacked Rome with every conceivable cruelty. In the meantime Henry VIII fell in love with Anne Boleyn, a maid of honour, and determined to marry her. The Pope could not refuse to judge the case if it was brought before him without giving up his claim to be the final court of appeal in the Church. Nor could he have decided that Henry VIII's marriage with Katharine was invalid, even if he had wished to do so, for he was in Charles V's power. He therefore decided that Henry's marriage with Katharine of Arragon was valid. But before this decision was given, Henry had thrown off the jurisdiction of the Pope; and he now compelled his Parliament to pass an act declaring that the kingdom was entirely independent of Rome and that the King of England was Supreme Head of the church in England. No other change in doctrine was made. But the provinces of Canterbury and York revolted from the ecclesiastical empire of Rome. The King by a legal device proved the whole clergy of England guilty of breaking the statute of "Praemunire" by recognizing Wolsey as the Pope's legate, and had acts passed which placed the church completely at his mercy.¹ Thus the one institution in the country over which the King's power was not absolute was now brought under his control. The English people acquiesced, with the exception of Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and a few monks, who paid for their courage with their lives. Englishmen had no love for the Pope: it was intolerable that a question deeply affecting the succession to the English throne should be decided by one who, whatever his spiritual claims might be, was obliged to give this particular decision by the necessities of Italian politics. But the King did not stop there. He proceeded to suppress all the monasteries and nunneries in England, and to confiscate their property. Six new bishoprics were founded, and the rest of the money, the gifts of the pious to God in former times, was seized by the King, or was bestowed on his nobles and favourites. The beautiful monastic churches, the glory of England, were allowed to fall into

¹ The Act for Submission of the Clergy and the Supreme Head Act.

heaps of ruins: vast masses of precious books and art treasures were destroyed. The first year's revenue of livings, which had formerly been paid to the Pope, Henry took for himself. It was restored to the church by Queen Anne, and is known as Queen Anne's Bounty.

Now that the English church had been freed from Rome, reforms could be brought about by constitutional means. Various books were officially put forth, condemning the excesses of medieval teaching about purgatory, invocation of saints, etc.: an English translation of the Bible was placed in every parish church, and lessons were read from it on Sundays and Holy Days: an English Litany was ordered to be used, and an English service for communicants was interpolated into the Latin Mass. But though Henry VIII had rebelled against the Pope, and though he entered into a political alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany, he allowed no foreign Protestantism in his kingdom, and those who professed it were burnt, just as in any country which was still under the Pope.

5. When Henry VIII was dead the revolution from which he had protected England began. The members of the council which governed for the young King, Edward VI, were the most unscrupulous gang of adventurers who have ever ruled in England. They began a series of changes in religion which were intended to bring the kingdom into agreement with the teaching of the Continental reformers. First they ordered all pictures of "feigned miracles" to be destroyed: then the rood-lofts, universal in English churches at that time, and the altars shared their fate. Holy Communion was to be celebrated at a table in the nave, after the fashion of Geneva. The parish churches of England were renowned for their beauty throughout Christendom. We can form some idea of what they were like by the remains of the stained glass, the rood-screens, and the frescoes, which are still to be seen in some of our old churches. They were ruined by the orders of the councillors of Edward VI. In 1549 the First Prayer Book was issued, and ordered to be used everywhere. The old services were translated, rearranged, and greatly simplified: the "Supper of the Lord, and Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass," was the old liturgy revised, with Henry VIII's service for communicants (derived from a Lutheran

source, but purged of Lutheran doctrine) interpolated into it. This interpolated service included the Exhortation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and Prayer of Humble Access in our present Communion Service. The First Prayer Book was the natural climax of Henry VIII's reforms: but it raised determined opposition. Englishmen did not object to being freed from the Pope, but they hated any alteration of their religious practice. The suppression of the monasteries had been followed by a rebellion in the north, called the Pilgrimage of Grace: the issue of the Prayer Book was followed by a similar rising in Devonshire. The council put it down, and proceeded to further changes. A second Prayer Book was issued, which denied our Lord's real presence in the Holy Communion, threw the Communion Service into confusion, and forbade the eucharistic vestments: but it was never brought into force. Edward VI died in 1553, just in time to save the English church from being completely Protestantized: and the great mass of the nation, weary of sacrilege and revolution, welcomed with shouts of joy Queen Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and Katharine of Arragon.

If Mary had been content to follow in her father's footsteps, the history of the English church might have been very different. But she was passionately devoted to the unreformed religion and to the Papal Supremacy. She insisted on marrying her cousin, Philip II of Spain (Charles V's son), and on dragging England for his sake into a disastrous war with France. England was restored to obedience to Rome: both Houses of Parliament confessed their sin and were absolved. The old service books were restored, and a beginning was made with the monasteries. Mary was determined to suppress the Reformation in England. Archbishop Cranmer, who more than anyone else had been responsible for the recent changes, with four of his bishops and two hundred and seventy others, was burnt at the stake. It was all in vain. The cruelty of Mary's policy and her Spanish alliance turned her subjects against her: the "fires of Smithfield" are still burnt into the hearts of Englishmen: and the unhappy Queen died in 1558 with the knowledge that she had ruined the cause which was nearest to her heart. It may almost be said that

she had found England a Catholic country, and left it a Protestant one.

6. Her successor was her half-sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. She found in her kingdom a strong conservative party, which included all the existing bishops, and another strong party which was bent on introducing the system of Calvin. She knew that if she took the side of either of these parties England would be torn asunder by civil war, which would probably end in foreign interference and the ruin of the country. So she decided to adopt a middle course. She could not continue her father's policy, because she had no men at her disposal who would carry it on. Her father's bishops had either died or been reconciled to Rome : and she had to use men who had been made bishops under Edward VI, and had since then been in exile on the Continent, where they had been strongly influenced by Calvin and his followers. She appointed Matthew Parker to the archbishopric of Canterbury, which was vacant (Cardinal Pole, the last archbishop, had died on the same day as Queen Mary), and she had him consecrated by four bishops who had held English sees during her brother's reign. It is this consecration which Romanists say was invalid : but, as we shall see in the next chapter, the grounds on which they assert this can be proved to be false. Parker then consecrated bishops for the rest of the English dioceses : for those of Queen Mary's bishops who were left had been deprived of their sees for refusing to take an oath to Queen Elizabeth as Supreme Governor (not Head) of the church of England. The Prayer Book ordered to be used was the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, with the anti-sacramental parts removed. Elizabeth's object was to make a settlement which the largest possible number of people should be willing to accept : and the formularies of the church were so drawn up that they could be interpreted in different ways. The great majority of the nation, anxious above all things for peace, accepted the Elizabethan settlement : but the most zealous on both sides were driven into schism. The government did all it could to suppress both Papists and Puritans, as they came to be called : but it was in the invidious position of being the persecutor of the two most religious sections of the nation.

The Elizabethan settlement was a compromise made by a political opportunist, and was never expected to be permanent. But after a few years the theological school of Hooker and Andrewes discovered that it rested on a truer and more primitive doctrine of the Church than the system of either Rome or Geneva. For a hundred years after the accession of Elizabeth the English church was struggling with Calvinism. Her position had been adopted at first as a political compromise, but it was found to be a religion for which a King of England and an Archbishop of Canterbury were willing to die. When William Laud and Charles Stuart had laid down their lives for her, the English church, as settled by Elizabeth, was saved. At the final settlement in 1660 the Papal Supremacy on the one hand and the doctrines of the Continental Reformation on the other were rejected. The English church claims to be the church set up in this country by St. Augustine, St. Aidan, and Theodore of Tarsus, and appeals to a free General Council of the whole Church to justify her claim to have been true to the faith and order which have come down from the Apostles.

7. The English and the Continental Reformation offer a strong contrast to one another.¹ In the first place, doctrinal reforms were what Luther began by demanding : because neither Pope, Emperor, nor Bishops would grant them, he and his followers broke away from the Church altogether and founded a new organization to take its place. But England began with constitutional reform. When freedom from Rome had been secured, the English church had the machinery to introduce whatever doctrinal reforms were needed. In the second place, the Continental Reformation was a movement from below, and was carried out by such men of first-class ability as Luther and Calvin, in the teeth of the existing government. But in England the Reformation was carried out from above, by Kings and governments : nor did it produce any leader who can be placed beside the great Continental reformers. In the third place, the reformed bodies on the Continent and in Scotland were entirely new institutions, and exulted in being so. But in England the reformed church has always claimed to be identical with, and continuous from,

¹ A. Plummer, *The Continental Reformation*, chap. ii.

the pre-Reformation church : and its claim can only be denied on the ground that obedience to the Pope is necessary to the life of a church, or that Anglican orders are invalid. And in the fourth place, the supreme authority in spirituals, which is given by Romanists to the Pope, by Lutherans to the "godly prince," by Calvinists to the synod of presbyters or to the general assembly of ministers and elders, belongs in the English church to the bishops in synod, as in the primitive Church and in the Eastern churches : the Crown only possesses that limited authority which was exercised by Constantine, Justinian, Charlemagne, Louis XIV, and other Catholic emperors and kings.

8. But the demand for removal of abuses which led to the Reformation was not unheeded within the Roman obedience. In 1546 the long deferred council met at Trent in North-East Italy. It was suspended in 1552 on account of a European war, but it met again in 1562 and lasted until 1564. It is difficult to describe briefly the vast work done by this council. There were three chief parties in it : the Spanish bishops, who followed the old theology of St. Thomas Aquinas, were strongly national and opposed to excessive papal claims, but resisted every attempt to grant concessions to Protestants, while they eagerly supported the reform of practical abuses : the Italian officials, whose policy was to defend the existing condition of the church of Rome and to exalt the papal claims : and the Jesuits, a new order founded by the Spaniard Ignatius Loyola, who combined zeal for reform and for learning with absolute devotion to the Pope. The French and Germans presented requests for reform, including Communion in both kinds, Mass in the tongue of the people and permission for the clergy to marry : the French also asked for the reform of monasteries, the publication of a good catechism, and other reforms aiming at a higher standard of religious knowledge, while the German proposals, which the Pope's legates refused to allow to be put before the council, as being "shocking to pious ears," demanded restriction of the number of cardinals and other constitutional reforms. The council was directed all through by the legates of the Pope. The Lutherans were not directly represented : some ambassadors of Lutheran states went, but they effected nothing. No English bishops

were allowed by Elizabeth to go. The practical abuses, such as non-residence, selling of Masses and indulgences for money, clerical ignorance, etc., which had been one of the principal causes of the Reformation, were to a large extent suppressed by the Council of Trent. Monasteries and nunneries were put under better supervision. Every bishop was ordered to have a seminary in his diocese for the training of priests. Provincial synods were to meet every three years. Sermons were to be preached in all parish churches on Sundays and Holy Days, and daily during Advent and Lent. Many other regulations were made for increasing the efficiency of the Church. In doctrine, much that had long been taught now received official recognition, but some of the more extreme opinions were not accepted. On the whole, doctrinal reform was very conservative. Thus belief in purgatory, invocation of saints, the granting of indulgences, and the worship of relics were retained, but superstitious practices connected with them were forbidden. The chalice was still refused to all but the celebrant, and those who should object were anathematized. At the end of the Council a Creed of twelve articles was drawn up, which was to be signed by all priests and teachers. The first article is the Nicene Creed, including the "Filioque" clause: the others assert acceptance of the traditions and constitutions of the Roman Church: that Holy Scripture is to be taken in the Church's sense: that there are seven sacraments: the admirably balanced statement of the council as to Justification: that the Mass is a sacrifice: transubstantiation: invocation of saints: images and indulgences: that the church of Rome is the mother and mistress of all churches, with an oath of obedience to the Pope: that all the decrees of the General Councils, including Trent, are to be received: that this is the Catholic Faith, without which salvation cannot be obtained. This Creed is known as the Creed of Pope Pius IV. The council agreed, only one member, the Archbishop of Granada, voting in opposition, to submit its decrees to the Pope for confirmation. From this time there was to be no more doubt that the Pope is above a council.

The whole modern history of the Roman Communion

is based on Trent. It is the decrees of Trent that distinguish medieval Catholicism from modern Romanism or "Roman Catholicism." (It is not correct to say that any person or church was "Roman Catholic" before Trent.) But the council would not have produced its full result but for the great movement which is called the Counter-Reformation. The Roman ecclesiastical empire, narrowed by the Reformation, and strengthened by the Council of Trent, turned upon its enemies. New religious orders, of which the Jesuits were the chief, equipped with a logical system, great learning, and utter devotion to what they believed to be the cause of Christ, swept back the Reformation into Northern Europe. Macaulay, with some exaggeration, says that fifty years after the Reformation began it had reached the shores of the Mediterranean: a hundred years after it began it could hardly maintain itself on the Baltic. Jesuit missionaries spread the Faith in India and Japan, in Canada and South America. The Pope became what we see him to-day, the master of an empire with adherents in every land. And as time went on the government of this empire became more and more centralized. Bishops came to be completely dependent on the Pope, because they had to have certain necessary rights renewed every five years. And the climax came when in 1870 the Vatican Council decreed that the Pope is infallible in faith and morals, and that he has ordinary, immediate, and supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church, and that by Divine right.

9. The Reformation changed profoundly every department of European life. But two of its results especially belong to our subject. In the first place, it broke up Christian unity in most European countries. The existence of religious minorities, too powerful to be ignored or suppressed, made it impossible any longer to hold that Church and State are one. The Jesuits on one side and the Calvinists on the other returned to the primitive Christian belief that Church and State are separate communities: and though the old medieval theory still continued in the English church under the influence of Hooker, it did at last give way to the facts of English life. Thus the way was prepared for individual liberty. The religious unity of the Middle Ages was compulsory: the unity which modern

Christians desire is a unity to be obtained by free consent, without any interference on the part of the State.

In the second place the Reformation introduced an entirely new kind of Christianity. All the divisions of Christendom which were in existence before the sixteenth century, except a few small sects, held in common a certain body of belief which we may call "traditional Christianity." Whatever the differences between them, whatever the corruptions or errors from which they suffered, Greek and Latin, Nestorian and Monophysite, with all the sects of the ancient world, and almost all Christians down to the time of Luther, believed that there is one universal Church, the Chosen People of God : that the part of this Church which is here on earth is a visible society, the Catholic Church ; that to belong to it is necessary to salvation, because God's offer of salvation is not made to men as separate individuals, but to the Church as a corporate body : that we enter into it by baptism, which is the outward sign of the new birth, and that our union with our Lord, thus established, is maintained by His Body and Blood given to us in the sacrament of the altar : that the principal act of Christian worship, and the necessary centre of the Christian's devotional life, is the offering of the one sacrifice of our Lord's Body and Blood in the same sacrament of the altar : that this offering cannot be performed except by a priest, ordained by a bishop, who has received his authority through the succession of bishops from the Apostles : that it is necessary to salvation to accept God's revelation in Holy Scripture entrusted to the Church, and proclaimed by her authority in the Creed : that the Church has authority to interpret this revelation and to define what is to be believed as necessary to salvation, but not to add to the revelation made in the beginning to the Apostles and inspired writers : and that the life of celibacy, for those whom God calls to it to promote His glory and the salvation of their own souls and those of their fellow-creatures, is higher and more honourable than the married life. All these beliefs were denied by the Continental reformers. In their opinion the Church was invisible : the promises of God were made to men as individuals, not as a corporate body : the sacraments were outward signs only, and did not necessarily or always convey grace : the

principal act of Christian observance was listening to the preaching of the word of God : the Holy Communion was not a sacrifice, and there was no special order of priests : bishops were unnecessary (Luther), or anti-Christian (Calvin) : the Apostolic Succession was of no importance : there was no special virtue in celibacy, and the ideal of a monk or nun was not in accordance with the spirit of Christianity.¹ From this time there are two forms of Christian belief and practice, which for the purposes of this book we shall call "traditional" (not Catholic, for many who have accepted it have been heretics) and "Protestant." There can be no doubt which of these two is the religion of the New Testament. The reformers thought that they were restoring primitive Christianity : but they were wrong : and their descendants are compelled to admit that the traditional doctrine of the Church, of the sacraments, and of celibacy are to be found in the earliest epistles of St. Paul. Time has proved that traditional Christianity is a more efficient instrument than Protestantism, both for bringing men to our Lord and keeping them in His grace, and for preserving unchanged the great central truths of Christianity, the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, to which Continental Protestantism has to a large extent ceased to bear witness. At the same time there are in Protestantism great spiritual forces of which the Church has need : and one of the most difficult problems of Christian Unity is how to bring these forces to the support of traditional Christianity.

The church of England is, through the accident of the Elizabethan settlement, unique in possessing both types in one communion : and she has given this peculiar character in some degree to most of the churches which she has founded in different parts of the world. Not only is England the one country, among those once included in the ecclesiastical empire of Rome, which adopted as its national religion a system which claimed to be Catholic without being papal, but it is also the only country in which both

¹ Yet the religion that places celibacy above marriage takes a higher view of marriage than the religion which teaches that married life is the higher. Traditional Christianity teaches that marriage is a sacrament, and (for the most part) forbids divorce : Protestantism teaches that marriage is only a contract, and tends to allow divorce more and more freely.

types of Christianity were united in one organization. We shall therefore consider in the next three chapters the possibility of reunion between the Anglican churches and the three great groups into which the bulk of Christendom is divided, the ecclesiastical empire of Rome, the Orthodox Eastern churches, and the independent bodies which were founded as the result of the Reformation.

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CHAPTER V

ENGLAND AND ROME

1. WHEN we look at Christendom as it is to-day, by far the largest object which meets our eyes is the great Communion or ecclesiastical empire which is subject to the Bishop of Rome. It includes about half of all the Christians in the world, and there is hardly a country in which its representatives are not to be found. It claims to be the true Church, in the sense that all other Christian bodies have separated from it and are rebels against its authority : and it calls upon the whole human race to submit to the Pope, the Vicar of Christ, on the ground that only by obedience to him can salvation be obtained. It is quite clear that any discussion of Christian unity must begin with the claims of Rome.

What is the present relation of the Anglican Communion to Rome and the Roman obedience ? On the one hand there has never been any Anglican excommunication of Rome. It was not Elizabeth's policy to take any step which might hinder the conciliation of any section of her subjects : and nothing has been done since. As far as I know, any foreign Romanist who has been confirmed has a right to receive Holy Communion in any Anglican church (a British Romanist would, I suppose, have to renounce his schismatic position) : and it would be lawful for any Anglican, from our point of view, to communicate in a Romanist church abroad, if the authorities allowed him to do so (which, of course, they would not), and if he could reconcile his conscience to communicating in one kind only. The English church has always recognized Romanist Orders, and has always permitted Romanist priests to minister at her altars on receiving a licence from the bishop. This was a well-known grievance of the Calvinists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who complained that

Romanist priests were recognized as validly ordained, while their ministers were not.

On the other hand Rome regards the Anglican Communion as a mere Protestant sect. Our Orders are invalid, our bishops, priests, and deacons are nothing more than laymen, our people are excommunicated heretics. Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth and her supporters in 1570: and we are also condemned by many of the anathemas of the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican. In 1559 we repudiated our obedience to the Pope; this alone would be enough to make us heretics, from the Roman point of view, even if they recognized our Orders to be valid: for the doctrine that the Pope possesses full, supreme, and immediate jurisdiction over the whole Church was made by the Vatican Council an article of faith. Since the Romanists consider us to be heretics, they naturally do all they can to convert us to what they believe to be the true faith. In 1850, Pope Pius IX established a province of his own Communion in England, partly with the object of converting Anglicans: and they still carry on a skilful and often successful campaign against us. Formal efforts on our side to convert Romanists were made in former days, and are ordered by our canons, but none are carried on now, except by the extreme Protestantizing section of the English and Irish churches. The present relation of the two Communion may be described as an open war of aggression on their side, and of defence on ours.

It is quite certain that on neither side is there any general desire for corporate reunion. Few Romanists, either in England or abroad, have ever heard that the Anglican churches claim to be Catholic: and those who have think that Anglicans with Catholic sympathies must, if they are consistent, submit to Rome as individuals. On our side, few of our people think of reunion with Rome as possible, and most of those who do have not realized how insuperable the difficulties are.

2. But our separation from the largest and most efficient body of Christians in the world is a fact which we must either put an end to or justify. Few of us, I suppose, have travelled in Romanist countries without longing at times that we were in communion with the crowds of devout worshippers who throng the churches: and the widespread

use among us of Romanist books of devotion¹ kindles in our hearts love for their authors. Again, we cannot but feel how tremendously the cause of our Lord would be strengthened if we were united : how edifying to unbelievers our reconciliation would be : how much easier it would be to provide for our people in remote countries if we could make use of the world-wide Romanist organization : how much stronger we should be at home if we had not to fear Romanist proselytizing. To the imaginations of many the magnificent efficiency of the Romanists makes an almost irresistible appeal. Their priests are carefully trained in dogmatic and moral theology, so that they can always give definite instruction, and know what remedies to apply to the souls of those who come to them. Their teaching is the same everywhere : their people are all taught in childhood the elementary duties of the Christian life, and the universal practice of confession keeps alive in them the sense of sin : the multitude and the devotion of their priests and nuns excites our admiration, and the universal order and discipline of their system our envy : for it presents such a strong contrast to our own haphazard methods. It must be admitted that in certain matters of discipline, such as the want of sufficient theological colleges, the existence of exempt jurisdictions, like Westminster Abbey, the cumbersome system of ecclesiastical courts, etc., the English church is still suffering from medieval abuses which abroad were swept away by the Council of Trent : though this is not so true of the other Anglican churches, where discipline is more effective. Again, we look at the enormous extent of the Romanist missions, and compare them with our own : for every Anglican missionary in the world there are twenty-one Romanist and fourteen Protestant missionaries. We cannot read such stories as that of the continued existence of their converts in Japan for two hundred years without any help from outside, without even a priest or a Bible, under laws which condemned every Christian to death by torture, or that of the first Christians in Corea, where the first priest, the first bishop, and the first convert were all martyred, without longing for unity. Again, it is undoubtedly the Roman Communion

¹ Such as *The Devout Life of St. Francis de Sales*, *The Spiritual Combat*, *The Garden of the Christian Soul*, etc.

which bears the chief witness in the world to the fundamental principles of Christian faith and morals. Everybody knows that a Romanist believes in the Holy Trinity, in the true Godhead and Manhood of Jesus Christ, in His Virgin Birth, in His death for our salvation, and in His resurrection: everybody knows that for Romanists marriage lasts until death, and divorce is forbidden. And some of us are attracted by the power of Rome to answer all questions with authority: though it may be doubted whether this power is in practice altogether an advantage to the cause either of truth or freedom.

3. But immediate reunion is possible—at a price. Rome is always ready to receive our submission, either as individuals or as a body. And unless we have good reasons for refusing it, we are guilty of schism. What reasons have we?

In the first place we dare not purchase even Christian unity at the price of asserting as true what we know to be false, or even doubtful. Every one who submits to Rome must profess his acceptance of the decrees of the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican: and these decrees include various doctrines which we know to be false, in particular those papal claims which are the basis of the whole Roman system.

Chapter three of the constitution *Pastor Aeternus* of the Vatican Council runs thus: "If anyone says that the Roman Pontiff holds merely an office of supervision and administration, and does not possess full and supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church, not only in matters of faith and morals, but also in those matters which concern the discipline and direction of the Church dispersed throughout the world: or that he has only the principal part, but not the entire plenitude of this supreme power: or that this his power is not an ordinary and immediate power both over the churches each and all, and over each and all of the pastors and of the faithful, let him be accursed!" And Chapter four proclaims as a dogma revealed by God that the Pope, when, in the exercise of his office as pastor and teacher of all Christians, he defines the doctrine concerning faith and morals to be held by the universal Church, is infallible: and that such definitions are irreformable of themselves, and not because of the consent of the Church.

This tremendous claim is based on the slender foundation of the three "Petrine texts": "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it." (St. Matt. xvi. 18): "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." (St. Luke xxii. 32): and the threefold "Feed my lambs—tend My sheep—feed My sheep." (St. John xxi. 15-17). On the basis of these texts it is claimed that the Pope, as the successor of St. Peter, is the absolute master of the Church on earth, that no one can belong to the Church who is not subject to him, and that his decisions on faith and morals are irreformable. But neither the Fathers of the first three centuries nor modern scholars interpret these texts as having anything to do with Rome. The first is addressed to St. Peter as the first disciple to recognize his Master's Godhead, upon which belief the Church was to be built: the second is a charge to him to use his strong faith to support his brethren during the dark hours of the Passion: the third is his restoration after his threefold denial. It is certain that he had no supremacy among the Apostles: in Acts viii. 14, he is sent forth by them, in Gal. ii. 9, he is placed after St. James, and there is nowhere any sign that he ruled over the other Apostles, though he did take the lead among them. It cannot be proved that he was ever Bishop of Rome, though he and St. Paul together founded that see: nor is there anything in Holy Scripture to show that our Lord gave any special position to his successors. We can trace the gradual growth of the Papal claims: even Mgr. Duchesne, the great French historian, writing of the fourth century, says, "The Papacy, as the West was to know it later, had yet to be born": and we know by the most certain historical proof that these claims, far from being a dogma divinely revealed, are due solely to a combination of historical accident and human ambition, and have been the principal cause of the miserable schisms from which the Church is suffering to-day. It is true that some Romanists admit that the Papal Supremacy did not exist from the beginning, but claim that it was developed afterwards under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. To this we reply, first, that the Catholic religion knows nothing of "divinely revealed dogmas" which were unknown till

long after the Apostolic age, but rejects all such developments as add to the Faith once delivered to the saints : and secondly, that if the Papacy had been a true and natural development, it would not have hindered the other bishops from carrying out their proper functions, or deprived them of the supreme position which they held in the undivided Church (and still hold in the Eastern and Anglican churches), as happened when Philip II of Spain said of his own bishops, " those who went to Trent bishops came back parish priests."

It is these papal claims which are the great obstacle to unity, because all the other false doctrines taught by the Romanists rest on the authority of the Pope. The chief of these is the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (not to be confused with the Virgin Birth of our Lord, which is, of course, an essential part of the Gospel and of the Creed, and is accepted by all Christian bodies). The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is that our Lord's Blessed Mother was endowed from the first moment of her existence with the special grace which is given to us at baptism, so that she was entirely without sin, original or actual. It was proclaimed as an article of faith by Pope Pius IX in 1854 on his own authority (having been for many years carefully taught by the Jesuits and Franciscans), and was ratified by the Vatican Council. There is not, however, the slightest trace of any evidence for it in Holy Scripture or in the writings of the primitive Church (it first appears, I believe, in the teaching of Mohammed) ; it is apparently contrary to Rom. iii. 16, where St. Paul tells us that " all have sinned and come short of the glory of God " : it is rejected by most Eastern theologians, and by such great Latins as St. Bernard and St. Thomas Aquinas. It is a mere deduction of fallible human reason from the belief that the Blessed Virgin was endowed with special grace as the instrument of our Lord's Incarnation : and therefore we can never accept it as an article of faith. (For the evidence against it, taken from the treatise of Cardinal Turrecremata, see Pusey's *First Eirenicon*.)

4. In the second place, the Roman see claims despotic power over the Church by divine appointment. It is almost incredible that absolute monarchy, the one form of govern-

ment which has been shown by the whole experience of civilized men to be unsatisfactory, should be the very one chosen by God for His Church. If this were so, it would make Christianity more difficult to believe, and it would require the most evident proof from the records of divine revelation. But, as we have seen, there is no proof of it at all: on the contrary, we can show that the ecclesiastical despotism of Rome came, not from the teaching of the Gospel, but from the heathen empire. We know that Pope Damasus obtained his power over the Latin churches from an imperial edict: that in the Middle Ages the Papal power was supported by a series of documents called the pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which, though they have long been proved to be forgery, are still the basis of the Roman canon law: that at each turning point in the history of the Papacy the claims of the last age were taken as facts, upon which fresh claims were built.¹ The whole gigantic erection is false from beginning to end. Despotism, whether it is efficient or not, is now almost universally held to be a bad form of government: it is bad for the ruler, because irresponsible power is too great a weight for human nature to bear, and it is bad for the people because, as the government is entirely outside them and above them, they fail to develop their active membership in the community. The despotic government of the Pope is now almost the only one remaining in the world: and its methods and sympathies are like those of other despotisms. In 1864 Pope Pius IX issued a Syllabus of Errors, among which he included the right of religious liberty (in Romanist countries), opposition to the Temporal Power of the Pope, and the doctrine that "in our time it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion shall be the religion of the State to the exclusion of all other forms of religion."² This Syllabus has never been withdrawn. Repentance for past errors is the spirit in which we must all approach reunion, and Rome will not admit that she has ever erred or that her system is in any way to blame for the present condition of Christendom.

For an interesting comparison between the attitude of

¹ J. P. Whitney, in *Our Place in Christendom*, lecture 5, p. 109.

² Nielsen, *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century* (Eng. trans.), vol. ii., p. 258 ff.

Roman Civil Law towards private associations and the treatment of local churches by the Papacy, see Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State*, ch. iv.

5. Among the lesser errors imposed by the Roman church on its subjects we may mention prohibition of all but the celebrant to partake of the chalice at Holy Communion, which is undoubtedly contrary to our Lord's command. "Drink ye all of this." It began in the thirteenth century from a mistaken idea of reverence, and was sanctioned by the Council of Trent.¹

The grant of Indulgences, shorn of its worst excesses, forms a large part of Romanist religious life : and almost every pious practice which is not absolutely compulsory is accompanied by this kind of bribe, which is given for saying certain prayers, reading the Bible regularly, going on pilgrimage, taking the pledge, etc. These two practices rest on the decrees of Trent.

It is widely taught in the Roman Communion, with the Pope's approval, that our Lord is the King of Justice, but our Lady is the Queen of Mercy : and that we cannot obtain salvation without the prayers of the Blessed Virgin. Even more extraordinary teaching is sometimes given, such as that of Bishop Mermillod in a sermon during the Vatican Council about the three Bethlehems—the manger, the tabernacle, the Vatican.² And if more moderate Romanists ask us why we do not come and help them to alter these abuses (as Mgr. Duchesne does to the Greeks in *The Churches Separated from Rome*) we must reply that the policy of an autocrat cannot be altered by the submission of more subjects to his authority.

6. Another very grave reason why we cannot even for the sake of unity submit to Rome is the power which the Pope claims of adding to the Faith. The following is from a letter from the Japanese Orthodox church to the Holy Synod of Russia in 1888 : " Behold, we have before us one set of envoys " (the Romanist missionaries) " who offer their creed for our acceptance : but to the question as to what exactly their dogmas are, how can they answer but as

¹ Uniats receive Communion in both kinds ; and exceptions to the normal rule have occasionally been permitted even in Latin churches ; see the last section of this chapter.

² Nielsen, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 328.

follows ? ' To-day we hold such and such doctrines, but what may be added to them to-morrow we cannot tell ; for perhaps at this very moment a man far away from here, who has authority to do so, is preparing some new dogmas, which to-morrow we shall have to accept and believe ; in fact there are many among us . . . who in our youth had two dogmas less to confess than we have at present ' (the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility), ' and perhaps we shall reach old age with two, possibly more than two, dogmas to believe besides those which we have to-day.' How can these be the successors of those ambassadors, who did not shun to declare unto the people all the counsel of God ? " (*Birkbeck and the Russian Church*, p. 73).

The idea that safety is to be found in the definite teaching of Rome, which sometimes occurs among timid Anglicans, is a mistake. It is true that the Roman Communion speaks (on the whole) with one voice : but there is no guarantee that that voice, however loud, speaks the truth. Rome has erred in the past (Pope Honorius was cursed as a heretic by all his successors for four hundred years, and he was not the only instance) : it is in error now, as we have seen, and it may go yet further astray in the future. We cannot get rid of our personal responsibility for what we believe by throwing it upon the Pope.

7. The foregoing reasons for refusing submission to Rome are maintained as strongly by the Eastern churches as by ourselves, and would remain as true as they are now if every Anglican bishop, priest, and deacon had disappeared from the earth. But we of the Anglican Communion are further encouraged in our refusal by the history of our own English church, which has never committed itself to any doctrine false to the teaching of the undivided Church, but has retained all that is necessary to Catholicism, namely right faith, valid orders, and true jurisdiction. Romanists deny that we hold the right faith, because we do not accept the decrees of Trent and the Vatican ; and that we have true jurisdiction, because they are bound to believe that no true ecclesiastical jurisdiction can exist outside the communion of Rome. As to our orders, they were condemned as invalid by Pope Leo XIII in 1896 on the ground that at the consecration of Archbishop Parker

in 1558 there was no intention to consecrate what the Catholic Church had always meant by a bishop, and that in the form of consecration used in England from 1558 to 1660 there was no mention of the Order to be conferred. To the first objection it is replied that the preface to the ordinal in the Prayer Book shows clearly that the intention of the English church was to confer the episcopal Order which had been handed down from the Apostles: and to the second, that the Order to be conferred is not mentioned in several admittedly valid rites, including the earliest form of the ordinal of the Roman church itself, so that if our Orders are invalid on this ground, so are theirs. As a matter of fact the validity of our Orders is not dependent on the consecration of Parker only, for there is an Irish line of succession as well, and also the consecration of one of our bishops by an Italian archbishop in the reign of James I. Of course, if we were committed to false doctrine, the validity of our Orders would not make us Catholic: but it cannot be shown that the Anglican churches officially teach anything contrary to Holy Scripture or to the doctrinal canons of the General Councils accepted by both Rome and the Greek patriarchates: and it is to that standard that we appeal, for we cannot allow Rome to be both judge and prosecutor in the case.

Moreover, since Rome denies the validity of our Orders, to submit would be to deny that our Confirmation really conveyed to us the sacramental gift of the Holy Ghost, and to submit to the sacrilege of being confirmed again: to deny that we had ever really received Holy Communion: for priests, to deny that they had ever been more than laymen counterfeiting the sacraments.

8. And finally, if we submitted to Rome, we should lose our opportunity of helping to bring about the reunion of the rest of Christendom. Rome permits no other form of Christianity than the Latin, except to those members of the ancient Eastern churches whom she has persuaded to submit to her as "Uniate." All her missionaries to the heathen are Latin. Unless we are to believe that it is God's will that the vast majority of the human race should be Christians of the Latin Rite, we are bound to prefer a unity, which will allow diversity of worship and of thought, to a uniformity to be imposed upon almost all nations.

9. We must now turn to the actual attempts which have been made to heal the schism of 1570.

In the reign of Charles I, Bishop Mountague told a Roman agent that both archbishops and many bishops would concede a purely spiritual supremacy to Rome: but Archbishop Laud refused to think of reunion "till Rome be other than she is." In 1633 Sancta Clara, a Franciscan friar, who was Queen Henrietta Maria's chaplain, published a book showing that the Thirty-Nine Articles could be interpreted in such a way as not to conflict with the decrees of Trent: he also believed in the validity of Anglican Orders, as did Bossuet, the great French preacher, a little later.

In 1663, under Charles II., who was himself a Romanist at heart, a scheme for reunion from the Roman side was privately drawn up. The English church was to accept the decrees of Trent, but was to keep much of its independence. All bishops were to be reconsecrated by legates specially appointed: the Archbishop of Canterbury was to be patriarch of the three kingdoms: Communion in both kinds was to be allowed to those who wished for it: married priests might keep their wives: the Holy Eucharist was to be in Latin, with English hymns. It is doubtful whether these terms were ever laid before the English bishops.

In 1717, when the church of France was distracted by controversy over Pope Clement XI's Bull "Unigenitus" against Jansenism, some doctors of the Sorbonne, the University of Paris, conceived the idea of reunion with the English church. Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, had refused to accept the Bull, and the Pope had threatened him with excommunication. It was under these circumstances that the French priest Du Pin wrote to William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury (who had himself been chaplain to the British Embassy at Paris) with a view to the reunion of the English and French churches. Wake was favourable to the proposal, but he saw quite clearly that the real point at issue was the Papal Supremacy, and he refused to consider any proposals which allowed to the Pope any authority in England greater than that of a titular primacy. He insists that the churches of England and France, if they are to negotiate, must negotiate on

equal terms. "The Church of England," he said, "has plenary authority, and so have you" (in France) "if you will but claim it." He magnifies his own position, asserting that it is in no way less, and in some ways greater, than that of the Archbishop of Paris: and this he does, not, as he says, because he himself values worldly pomp and position, but in order to tempt the French to break with Rome, by showing them how great a position they might have if they did. Du Pin sent to Wake a "Commonitorium," in which he declared his willingness to accept the Thirty-Nine Articles, with explanations, and the English Liturgy as satisfactory (except the "Black Rubric" at the end). The school of thought, which De Noailles and Du Pin represented, laid great stress on the liberties of the French or "Gallican" church, and Du Pin allows the Pope nothing more than the right and duty "of seeing that the canons are everywhere kept." This right, however, Wake would by no means concede: but it was explained in such a manner that he could say he thought the difference on that point was of small importance. Du Pin would concede Communion in both kinds, validity of Anglican Orders, and the non-necessity of invocation of saints and reverence to images. But the correspondence was broken off by the death of Du Pin in 1719: the French government was not prepared to break with Rome for the sake of reunion with England, and Cardinal de Noailles, after much hesitation, accepted the "Unigenitus" with explanations.

If the efforts of Wake and Du Pin had been successful, the result would probably have been a schism in the French church similar to that which took place about the same time in Holland, where the Chapter of Utrecht, unable to get leave from the Pope to have their archbishop consecrated, because they would not accept the Bull "Unigenitus," and because of the opposition of the Jesuits, had him consecrated, without leave, by a missionary bishop who was passing. Their action was defended by many cardinals, bishops, and abbots in different countries, but they were excommunicated by the Pope, and the church of Utrecht remains separated from Rome to this day. It was from this church that the "Old Catholics," who refused to accept the decrees of the Vatican Council of 1870, obtained the consecration of their bishops.

In 1723, a French priest, named Le Courayer, published a "Vindication of Anglican Orders." In the latter part of the century the persecution of the French clergy during the Revolution aroused much sympathy for them in England: and Bishop Barrington of Durham urged the reunion of the churches, which he considered "not very remote." The Romanist Bishop Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, in Ireland, attempted in 1824 to revive interest in Wake's negotiations, but without success.

The Oxford Movement of 1833-45 began as a defence of the historic position of the English church against all its enemies, including Romanism. But during the later stages of the Movement W. G. Ward and a section of the younger men were strongly drawn towards Rome: and Newman in the famous Tract Ninety tried to show that there was nothing in the Thirty-Nine Articles incompatible with the decrees of the Council of Trent. The secession of Newman in 1845, and of Manning and Faber with many others in 1851, accompanied by the establishment of Romanist sees in England, caused the whole Catholic party in the English church to be unjustly suspected of a desire for submission to Rome; and this suspicion still exists in many quarters.

In 1857 the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom was founded, for the reunion of the Latin, Eastern, and Anglican churches, and many Romanists joined it, but in 1864 they were ordered to withdraw from it, at the request of the Romanist bishops in England, who have always been the most bitter opponents of any concession to the English church.

Between 1865 and 1870, Dr. Pusey and Bishop Forbes of Brechin, in Scotland, attempted to bring the question of reunion before various French and German bishops and theologians, with the object, first, of getting them to fix the minimum which they would require as a basis of future negotiation, and secondly, of having the case of the Anglican bishops brought before the Vatican Council. They received much sympathy from a Belgian Jesuit named De Buck, and from Mgr. Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, and Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans. But they were always at cross-purposes. Pusey and his friends had no desire to leave the English church or to submit to Rome: they

were trying to get it made clear that the teaching, popular among Romanists, of excessive devotion to the Blessed Virgin and other matters was not the official theology of Rome, and would not be required of Anglicans in case reunion could be brought about: but all their Romanist friends persistently misunderstood their position, and thought that they were dissatisfied with the English church and were trying to obtain easy terms for themselves. Newman, however, saw quite clearly that they would do no good. The triumph of the extreme or "Ultramontane" party at the Vatican Council of 1870 put an end to their efforts.

10. It was this Council which finally destroyed the "Gallican" or moderate party in the Roman Communion, to which all the approaches from the English church, which we have just described, had been directed. The Gallicans had for nearly five hundred years opposed the more extreme claims of the Roman see, especially its claim to infallibility. A council, accepted as a General Council by the whole Roman Communion, now decided against them. The Vatican Council was held at Rome, under the presidency of Pope Pius IX, who spared no pains to secure the passing of the decrees, upon which he had set his heart. Of the majority who supported his policy a great number were Italians, bishops "in partibus," and other nominees of the Pope: among the minority, who retired from Rome before the vote was taken, were the most learned and distinguished of the French and German bishops. We can hardly regard the Vatican Council as freely representing even the Roman Communion: the bishops of the Eastern churches (Orthodox and Separated) refused to come, because to do so would have been to acknowledge the Papal Supremacy: and the Anglican bishops were not even invited.

As a result of this Council some Romanists in Germany and Switzerland, who could not accept its decrees, set up independent churches, with bishops consecrated by the last of the Utrecht succession. They claimed to be the only true Catholics left in Western Europe, and are called "Old Catholics" (in Switzerland, Christian Catholics). This communion has now about nine bishops in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, and the United States:

it has remained quite a small body, partly because the German Old Catholics took the side of Bismarck in his struggle against Church authority (the "Kulturkampf") and partly because they relaxed the discipline to which they had been accustomed. Between this body and the Anglican churches relations have at times been very friendly: Old Catholics have been formally permitted to receive Communion in Anglican churches, and have sometimes given the same privilege to Anglicans.

II. The last and most famous attempt to promote the cause of reunion between the Roman and English churches was made by Lord Halifax in 1894-6. Lord Halifax, knowing that the creation of an atmosphere of trust and sympathy was the necessary preliminary to any scheme of reunion, thought that this atmosphere might come into existence if the Pope were willing to write a letter of friendship and sympathy to the English archbishops; and that, if Anglican Orders, which had never been formally condemned, though they had been treated in practice as null and void, could be declared to be valid in the eyes of the Roman church, a point of contact between the authorities of the two communions might be established, which might lead on to further results. With the help of the Abbé Portal, a French priest of the Lazarist Order founded by St. Vincent de Paul, with whom Lord Halifax had established a friendship while they were both staying in the island of Madeira, he succeeded in bringing the matter before Pope Leo XIII. The Pope was a very old man, universally loved for his holiness and charity; he was filled with delight at the idea of being able to do something for reunion, and he told M. Portal that he would write to the archbishops as Lord Halifax wished. But Cardinal Vaughan, who was then the head of the Romanist church which Pope Pius IX had set up in England, was bitterly opposed to every suggestion of corporate reunion, and to anything which might lead men to think it possible. He told the Pope that Lord Halifax and M. Portal had misinformed him, and that the English church was by no means what they had represented it to be. Under Vaughan's influence the Pope wrote his letter, not to the English archbishops, but to the English people: he said nothing in it about the English church as distinct from

the rest of the nation, and he spoilt the effect of it by unnecessarily referring to certain practices (Indulgences and the use of the Rosary) to which those whom he was trying to conciliate strongly objected. A commission was appointed to consider the question of Anglican Orders : it included the Abbé (now Mgr.) Duchesne, Mgr. Gasparri (now Cardinal and Papal Secretary of State) and Father de Augustinis, who were known to be favourable to the Anglican claim, together with Father Scannell, who was friendly but did not believe in it, and Canon Moyes, Dom (now Cardinal) Gasquet, and Father David, who were strongly opposed to it. Father Puller, of the Cowley Fathers, and the Rev. T. A. Lacey went to Rome in an unofficial capacity, that the commission might have the benefit of their historical knowledge. In the end the Commission referred the question to the Cardinals of the Holy Office. These agreed that they could not go behind the decision made by their predecessors in 1704, when a Scottish bishop named Gordon had asked that his Orders might be declared invalid, and that he might be reordained. Accordingly Pope Leo XIII published the bull "*Apostolicæ Curæ*," in which he declared that Anglican Orders were and always had been wholly invalid, on the ground that the rite in the Prayer Book of Edward VI, which was used from 1558 to 1660, made no mention of the Order to which the person was to be consecrated, and that the English church in 1558 did not intend to make bishops in the Catholic sense. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Dr. Temple and Dr. Maclagan, issued a reply to this bull, addressed to all the bishops of the Holy Catholic Church, in which they showed that on neither ground could the Pope's statement be justified, and asserted in the clearest language the belief of the English church in the Priesthood and in the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

Nothing could have been more truly Christian than the motives and the behaviour of Lord Halifax throughout this negotiation. His attitude is shown by the following extract from a letter to Mr. Wilfrid Ward ("*Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*, p. 105 ") and is a model for all who seek to promote Christian unity : " Men are led much more by their hearts than by their heads, and I am certain that a great work is to be done just now in the direction of peace

if everyone really wished for it, and would work for it in love and for love's sake, putting themselves in the position of those they want to win, and thinking only of our Lord, and nothing of their own side or of themselves. The truth is the one and only thing we should all work to establish. And how can this be done, and our divisions healed except by making the very best of one another instead of the worst, going out of our way to make excuses and allowances for all we think we see amiss in others who seem to be opposed to us and steadily resisting the temptation of taking advantage of this or that which may appear for the moment to support our own side ? ”

12. It will be noticed that of all these efforts at reunion, only three passed beyond mere aspiration, namely the scheme proposed under Charles II, the negotiation between Archbishop Wake and Du Pin, and the attempt of Lord Halifax to get the difficulty about Orders removed : and that none of the three grappled with the main difficulty, the Papal Supremacy. The first would practically have made the Anglican churches Uniat, and would have imposed Papal Supremacy upon us in the same way as it is imposed on the Uniats of the East. The second plan differs from all the others in being a proposal for reunion, not with the Roman church, but with the Gallican church made independent of Rome. As Archbishop Wake saw, the difficulty of this was that the French clergy were unwilling to break away from their allegiance to the Pope, to whom their church had so long been subject : but it seems probable that in this direction lies the only possible hope of reunion between the Anglican and the Latin churches.

Lord Halifax did not aim directly at reunion, but at the removal of the obstacles to it, the disbelief of Rome in the validity of Anglican Orders. If he had been successful, and Leo XIII had declared our Orders to be valid, reunion would not have followed : we should have been in much the same position, from the Roman point of view, as the Eastern churches.¹ There is a common idea that the possession of valid Orders would by itself prove us

¹ Our position would have been less favourable than that of the Easterns : more heretical, as denying transubstantiation, allowing marriage after ordination, etc. ; more schismatical, because Rome claims that England is part of its own patriarchate.

to be Catholics. This is, of course, absurd. Right faith and jurisdiction are also needed. All the heretical sects of ancient times, and the followers of Bishop Colenso in our own age, had valid Orders but not right faith. The Novatianists and Donatists in ancient times, the Non-jurors and the followers of Bishop Mathew in the modern period, had right faith and valid Orders, but they were not Catholics: they had no jurisdiction, therefore they were schismatics. Even if the Romanists recognized our Orders, they would still regard us as heretics and schismatics. But Lord Halifax was not successful: it was impossible for him to succeed. The Roman and English Romanist ecclesiastics with whom the decision lay were not seeking, in a spirit of scientific detachment, the truth as to whether Anglican ordinations satisfied the tests of validity which are applied to other ordinations. What they were considering was whether the proposed recognition of our Orders would promote or hinder the flow of conversions. Cardinal Vaughan was sure that it would hinder conversions, but that a definite condemnation of our Orders would bring large numbers of Anglicans to make their submission, and he went so far as to make provision for the support of converts who had lost their means of living. He was wrong, as the result proved. But it was on this ground that Anglican Orders were condemned. There was no real investigation of the question, once it was brought before the Cardinals, who gave their judgment, with a view not to truth but to expediency.

13. What prospects, then, are there of reunion with the Latin churches? We must take for granted, as an absolutely certain fact, that while Rome might conceivably reverse her decision on the validity of Anglican Orders, it is impossible that she should change the decrees of Trent or of the Vatican. No reforming Pope could alter dogmas which have been settled by a General Council, and which for Romanists rest on the same authority as the Nicene Creed. Even apart from this, it would clearly be beyond the power of any Pope to concede his own supremacy, because to do so would be to give away his own right to represent the Roman Communion or to negotiate in its name. You cannot ask a monarch to agree to terms which include his own abdication and the transformation of his kingdom into a republic! And that is what asking Rome to give

up the Papal Supremacy would mean. (Not that Rome has any idea of negotiation, or of consenting to any terms but unconditional submission.) This being admitted, there are two views about reunion with Rome which are held in the Anglican Communion. A small but growing party, which, with Father R. A. Knox, himself once a member of it, we may call the "Ultramarines,"¹ accepts, with or without explanations, all the Roman dogmas, except that submission to the Pope is necessary to salvation. They openly confess that they would like to see the whole world subject to the Roman see: and with this object they try to make the services and the appearance of their churches as like as possible to those of the Romanists. They do not expect to be able to bring the whole Anglican Communion round to their views: but they believe that it will soon split asunder of itself, and that they will then be able to persuade the "Catholic" party to join them in submitting to Rome. Some of them hope for an English Uniat church, in which Communion in both kinds, a married clergy, and services in English would be permitted. Some go so far as to maintain that the changes made by the English Reformation were "*ultra vires*," and that Anglican bishops are only to be obeyed when their commands are in accordance with "the mind of the Western church."

On the other hand the large majority of the Anglican Communion is determined never again to submit to the jurisdiction of Rome in any form, whether Patriarchal or Papal: and cannot accept the decrees of the Vatican, or those of the decrees of Trent "which have no certain warrant of Holy Scripture," especially those which assert the Papal Supremacy. According to this view, reunion with Rome is not worth having at the cost of truth and freedom. An English Uniat church is a mere dream, for there is no instance of permission being given by Rome for communion in both kinds, etc., within the ancient boundaries of the Roman Patriarchate.² Such privileges are only

¹ This party is to be carefully distinguished from the much larger "Catholic" party, which is restoring Catholic belief and practice, but rejects the peculiar claims and doctrines of Rome.

² The privileges of the Utraquists of Bohemia were never sanctioned by Rome. Communion in both kinds was allowed for a short time in Germany by a Papal brief of 1564 (Whitney, *Reformation*, p. 302).

conferred on converts from Eastern churches, and even they were till recently not allowed to communicate, except under special circumstances, in churches of the Latin rite. The Anglican churches are no longer, either *de jure* or *de facto*, parts of the "Western church," by which is meant the Roman ecclesiastical empire: and we have as much right to our own liturgies, customs, and modes of thought, within the limits of the Catholic Faith, as the Syrian and Egyptian churches in ancient times, or as the Russian and Serbian churches to-day. We cannot surrender these rights, of which we are the trustees not only for future generations of the English-speaking peoples, but also for the young churches in Asia and Africa which are growing up under the care of our missions. The separation and submission to Rome of the most "Catholic-minded" section of the Anglican Communion would only be the substitution of one schism for another, and would destroy the present Anglican opportunity of promoting reunion in other directions. Nor is there any guarantee that if we once admitted the Papal Supremacy, any concessions which the Pope might make would be permanent: the Roman mind has always regarded all important local liberties with dislike, and what one Pope has given another can take away.

For the present, therefore, reunion with the Latin churches is outside practical politics. The whole Anglican Episcopate endorsed this view when, in the Lambeth Conference of 1908, it decided that the attitude of Rome rendered all attempts at reunion useless. At the same time it cannot be denied that a united Christendom without the Latin churches would be, to adapt an old Greek saying, like the year without its spring. It may be that the future will bring changes which we cannot yet see. When the Anglican and Eastern churches are reunited, and when a world-wide Communion is established which retains the whole system of primitive and traditional Christianity, without being bound by the despotic ideas of the Roman Empire, perhaps some of the Latin provinces will come to see that Papalism is no part of the Catholic Faith and a larger movement on Old Catholic lines may follow. The destruction of despotic government in secular states, and the rise of a free League of Nations in its place, may have

its effect on the government of the Church. There is some evidence that this process is already beginning. In the meantime everyone who is loyally trying to follow all that is best and truest in the teaching and traditions of his own church, to put away pride and prejudice, and to pray earnestly and constantly for the fulfilment of our Lord's prayer that all may be one, is doing all that can be done for the reunion of Christendom.

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CHAPTER VI

LIGHT IN THE EAST

I. "THERE are many," says Dean Stanley in his first "Lecture on the Eastern Church," "who are in danger of being thrown off their balance by the magnetic power of those associations which appeal to the imaginative, the social, the devotional parts of our nature. The body with which we are most familiar as producing this effect is the ancient and energetic community whose seat is at Rome. In it we usually see the chief impersonation of high ecclesiastical pretensions, of an elaborate ritual, of outward devotion, of wide dominion, of venerable tradition. It is close at hand ; and therefore, whether we attack or admire, it fills the whole of our view. But this effect is considerably modified by the apparition of the Eastern church. Turn from the Tiber to the Bosphorus : we shall see that there are two kings in the field, two suns in the heavens. That figure which seemed so imposing when it was the only one which met our view, changes all its proportions when we see that it is overtopped by a vaster, loftier, darker figure behind. If we are bent upon having dogmatical belief and conservative tradition to its fullest extent, we must go not to the church which calls itself Catholic but to the church which calls itself Orthodox—to the church which will die but never surrender the minutest point which Council or Father has bequeathed to it. If we are to make the most of monasticism as a necessary model of Christian perfection, we ought not to stop short with the Grande Chartreuse, or Monte Casino, when we can have the seclusion of Mount Athos, or the exaltation of Simeon Stylites. If we are to have the ancient theory of sacramental forms carried out to its extreme limits, we must not halt half-way with a church which has curtailed the waters of Baptism, and deferred Confirmation and Communion to years of discretion : we must take refuge in

the ancient Eastern ritual, which still retains the threefold immersion, which still offers the rites of Chrism and of the Eucharist to the unconscious touch of infancy."

The Orthodox Eastern Communion consists of the see of Constantinople and those churches which followed her in her great quarrel with Rome, described in Chapter III of this book. These churches are the four ancient Greek patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem: the independent church of Cyprus: the church of Russia, with its patriarch at Moscow and its missions in Siberia, China and Japan: the national churches of Greece, Serbia, and Roumania; and the church of the monastery of Mount Sinai. The members of this Communion are technically known as the "Orthodox."

The Patriarch of Constantinople became, after the Turkish conquest of the Eastern Empire, the head of the Greek nation, and the temporal as well as spiritual leader of all the Orthodox in the Turkish dominions. This position he still retains: but the boundaries assigned to Turkey by the Peace Conference cannot be considered permanent, and if ever Constantinople should be taken from the Turks fresh adjustments will have to be made. He is also the chief bishop in the Orthodox Communion, and holds a nominal primacy over the national churches of Greece, Serbia and Roumania. His position is rather like that of the Archbishop of Canterbury among ourselves. He has no jurisdiction outside his own patriarchate, but he is consulted in any matter of importance. His patriarchate includes the seven churches of Asia, to which the Revelation was sent. To-day the most important of them is Smyrna.

✠ The patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem are small, and only important on account of their historical position. The Patriarch of Jerusalem is the Guardian of the Holy Places. In the two latter patriarchates many of the people speak Arabic: otherwise the four patriarchates are Greek.

The church of Cyprus was declared independent of any patriarchate by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Its Archbishop, who was recently in England, is the successor of St. Barnabas. Its members are all Greeks.

The church of the kingdom of Greece was separated

from the jurisdiction of Constantinople after the Greek War of Independence. The Patriarch's consent to the separation was obtained in 1852. This church is governed by its synod of bishops, of which the president is the Archbishop of Athens, who was in England in 1918, when he attended a service in St. Paul's Cathedral in full pontificals, and gave the blessing.

The church of Russia is the greatest missionary achievement of Constantinople. It was founded in 988 by King Vladimir, who had sent to Constantinople for missionaries to convert his people. About four-fifths of the Orthodox Communion belong to the Russian church. At first the Russian metropolitans were subject to Constantinople. But in 1589, with the consent of all the patriarchs, a fifth patriarchate was established at Moscow, to take the place of Rome, which, according to the Orthodox view, had fallen into heresy. Thus the Russian church obtained peacefully that independence which the English church had had to take by force at the cost of unity. The patriarchate of Moscow lasted until the time of Tsar Peter the Great, who established the Holy Governing Synod in its place in 1721. The Holy Synod was always treated officially as standing in the place of the Patriarch. In 1917, after the Russian Revolution, the Holy Synod was abolished by the church, and the patriarchate was revived. At the same time the leading sect of the "Old Believers," which had been in schism for two centuries, returned to the communion of the Church. The patriarch Tikhon has shown himself worthy of the noblest Russian and Christian traditions by the courageous stand which he has made against Bolshevik cruelty and sacrilege. But even under the Tsars the Holy Synod, composed entirely of bishops, had control of the spiritual affairs of the church. The Procurator, a layman representing the Tsar, had no vote, but his assent was necessary to any acts of the Synod which were to have the force of law. The Russian church had more freedom than the English church has. Most people have heard of the wonderful devotion of the Russian peasants, of the glorious services in their cathedrals, and of their church music, the best in the world : and we ought to be all praying that the terrible persecution, worse than anything in modern history, which the Russian church is now under-

going, may soon pass, and leave behind it the blessing which our Lord has promised to all who suffer for His Name.

The missions of the Russian church cover the whole of Siberia, where the liturgy is said in more than a hundred different languages. The Orthodox mission in Japan is the largest in that country after the Romanist mission: it was founded and developed by the saintly Archbishop Nicolai, who, with no more than two or three priests from Russia at any one time, built up a church of twenty-five thousand Japanese converts with their own clergy: and who was so much trusted by the (heathen) government, that he was the one Russian subject allowed to remain in Japan during the war with Russia.

The church of Serbia, or rather now of United Yugoslavia, has come into closer contact with ourselves than any other Orthodox church, for during the war, when Serbia was in the hands of the enemy, she entrusted her candidates for ordination to the care of the English church. The four independent churches of the Serbs in Serbia, Montenegro, Austria, and Hungary, are now united under the Archbishop of Belgrade: and complete ecclesiastical independence has been established by the restoration of the Serbian Patriarchate which existed in the fourteenth century, with the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The Roumanian church has also been united under a patriarch at Bucharest as the result of the war. Like those of Serbia and Greece, she is governed by her own synod of bishops. It will be remembered that all the four Orthodox nations, Russia, Greece, Serbia, and Roumania, fought by our side in the war, and the two last suffered the occupation of all their territory by the enemy.

The church of Bulgaria is Orthodox in faith and practice, but she has been out of communion with Constantinople since 1872 because of the intrusion of her bishops into the Patriarch's jurisdiction for political reasons. She is governed by an Exarch, formerly resident at Constantinople, but now at Sofia. It is to be feared that the unfortunate part taken by Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War of 1913 and in the Great War of 1914-18 has increased the difficulty of healing this schism.

The Orthodox Communion is a group of patriarchates

and national churches, independent of one another as to their internal affairs, but bound to consult one another before taking any step which would affect the whole Communion. In this way they are very much like the churches united in the Anglican Communion : only whereas we have for the most part a common language, but different (though similar) liturgies, they have one liturgy, which is used everywhere,¹ but different languages. The Russians, Serbs, and Bulgarians use Church Slavonic in their services, which is to modern Russian and Serbian what the language of Chaucer is to modern English. Other liturgical languages are Roumanian, Arabic, Japanese, and many Siberian tongues. English is used by the Orthodox in America.

2. Orthodox Christianity presents a picture of the Church as it was in the seventh century. Little has been changed since then. We must remember that there is no Orthodox church or people except the Serbs of Montenegro which has not been at one time or another under the Turkish or Tartar yoke. They were the breakwater against the hordes of savage invaders from Central Asia, protecting our civilization during the period of its growth. It is impossible to give here a full account of Orthodox teaching and practice. In many ways it preserves for us the practice of the undivided Church which has been changed elsewhere. The Holy Communion Service, or Liturgy, is very long and elaborate, and is usually offered with the greatest possible splendour, as the highest act of worship. There is a Russian proverb to the effect that the Romanist service appeals to the eye, the Protestant to the intellect, but the Orthodox to the heart. No instrumental music is allowed, and the congregation stand all the time. Holy Communion is administered in both kinds, which are received together in a spoon by the laity ; priests and deacons receive them separately. Children are confirmed by a priest, with oil blessed by the bishop, immediately after Baptism, and are then admitted to Holy Communion at once. (This custom of confirming infants was once universal : even as late as the sixteenth century, Queen Elizabeth was confirmed by Archbishop Cranmer

¹ The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is the usual one : the Liturgy of St. Basil is used at certain seasons of the year ; the Liturgy of St. James also at Zante and some other places.

when she was a few days old.) Baptism is generally by immersion, that is, by dipping the child three times in the water. The majority of the Orthodox do not communicate more than once a year, as was our custom before the Reformation, and indeed too often in much more recent times : but they always prepare for their Communion by confession to a priest, and a retreat of several days. The clergy are either married before ordination, except in the rare case of celibate secular priests, or else are monks : the old discipline, now beginning to be relaxed, was that if a priest's wife died, he must not marry again, but must become a monk. The bishops are always unmarried or widowers. Deacons are not always men who are going to be priests, as with us : there is a special part in the service assigned to the deacon, and many remain deacons all their lives. The greatest home of Orthodox monasticism is the peninsula of Mount Athos in Greece, which belongs entirely to the twenty monasteries which are built on it. No woman, or even female animal, has been allowed by the rules of the community to enter Mount Athos for over eight hundred years.

3. Why should we desire reunion with the Orthodox Eastern churches ? They are far away, and they are very different from us. Would it not be better to seek reunion first with people who are nearer to us ?

In the first place, there is no such thing as distance to the Christian. Every member of the Church is his brother, and every Christian country is his home. The Orthodox are baptized into the same body as we are : they are fed with the same heavenly Food which sustains us : they live in communion with bishops of the same Apostolic Succession as ours : we are united in our common Saviour, and we cannot be indifferent to the fact that we are not in full communion with one another.

In the second place, reunion would be of the greatest possible value to both sides. The very fact that we are so different from one another means that each of us has the qualities that the other side most needs. There is perhaps nothing that the English-speaking nations lack more than the art and the habit of corporate worship, of which most of our people do not seem to feel the need. The Orthodox have the best tradition of corporate worship in the world.

The Liturgy is not offered by the priest alone, but by the priest and the people together: it is the worship of the Church, both militant and triumphant, offered to God through His Incarnate Son: and each individual feels that he has his share in the great act of adoration. Again, our besetting sin is to think only of the things that are seen, and to forget what is unseen: the Englishman's nature is to express his religion in terms of duty and of conduct. But the Russian is by nature a mystic: to him the unseen world, the world of God and of His Saints, is more real than that which is seen and touched. We have much to learn from the Orthodox about the Communion of Saints. And they, perhaps, might learn something from us of the ideals of duty, of practical service to one's fellow-men, and of high standards in public life, which are the glory of our race.

And We need the unswerving fidelity to even the smallest details of the traditional faith which has given them the right to the name of Orthodox: and they need the free and fearless enquiry into the origins of the Bible and of the Church, combined with firm belief in Divine Revelation, which marks the best Anglican theology. We need the light which they can throw on the practical working of the ancient constitution of the Church, where it has never been changed: and they need our experience in the adaptation of the Christian life to modern industrial and social conditions.

Moreover, though there are few Orthodox in England, there are great numbers in Canada and the United States. There the question of reunion is very urgent indeed. In Western Canada the Anglican church is the fourth largest religious body, and the Orthodox Eastern the sixth. These Orthodox colonists, cut off from the traditional life of their home, placed in a land where all that is material is strong and all that is spiritual is weak, and very often left without churches or priests, need the care of the only religious body on the spot which will not tempt them to leave the faith of their fathers. There are many little groups of Orthodox in remote parts of the British Empire, and of Anglicans in remote parts of Russia and Siberia and in the Near East, for whom their own churches find it difficult to provide the sacraments. If they could use the services of

the church of the country, many of them might be saved much spiritual loss.

Again, we have need of our Orthodox brethren in our missionary campaign. It is because the Christian Church is divided that the religion of Mohammed has won such great victories over her. The Orthodox churches are the old native churches of the lands submerged by the Mohammedan flood : it is their duty and their right to lead the effort to recover those lands. We cannot be satisfied with making our converts from Islam in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and even India members of the Anglican Communion : we want to see all those lands occupied by the Orthodox churches to which they properly belong. Asiatic peoples do not always take kindly to Christianity in its English form. It seems to them something foreign : our Prayer Book, made for a different race, under the influence of Western controversies, is not altogether suitable to them. They would express their devotion more naturally in one of the ancient Eastern liturgies. We need the metaphysical mind of the Greeks to show us how to solve the metaphysical difficulties of the Indians. When the Orthodox churches are strong, well educated, and full of missionary zeal, and not till then, we may expect to be able to overcome the great religions of Asia.

The restoration of communion between the Anglican and Orthodox churches would have its effect on our difficulties at home. We should speak with far more power to the Protestant world if we could point to the authority of a hundred million Orthodox behind us. Nor can we expect that the Latin churches will cease to be Ultramontane as long as the one Communion which is world-wide is that of Rome.

4. The history of the relations between the English and the Eastern churches is a long one. Theodore of Tarsus, the great archbishop who gathered the different missions from the Continent and from Ireland into one English church, was a Greek. Alfred the Great sent money to help the Christians in India. Henry VI wrote to the Pope to express his delight at the temporary reunion brought about by the Council of Florence (see Chapter III). After the Reformation we find the friendly feeling between the two communions growing steadily stronger. In 1616

Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Alexandria and afterwards of Constantinople, sent Metrophanes Critopoulos, a Greek priest who afterwards became Patriarch of Alexandria, to Balliol College, Oxford, for five years : and soon afterwards he presented the famous Codex Alexandrinus, one of the oldest manuscripts of the Bible in existence, to King Charles I : it is still in the British Museum. Another Greek priest, named Conopios, became a chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford. He returned to the East in 1651, and was made Bishop of Smyrna. What is now Worcester College, Oxford, was used in 1698 for the training of Greek priests, but the scheme was not successful. In 1689 a Royal Commission suggested to the English Convocations the omission of the " Filioque " clause (see Chapter III) in order to promote reunion with the Greeks. Various Greek bishops came to England and were hospitably received about this time.

Between 1716 and 1725 the sect of the Nonjurors entered into negotiations for reunion with the Greek and Russian authorities : but the concessions which this very small body demanded were so extravagant that the Patriarchs refused to grant any at all. The correspondence was put an end to by the death of Tsar Peter the Great of Russia, who was interested in the proposal, and by the action of Archbishop Wake, who pointed out to the Patriarch of Jerusalem that the Nonjurors were not the ancient church of England, but a small sect which had separated from her.

In 1841 Bishop Alexander was consecrated and sent to Jerusalem to look after the Anglican congregations in the East. He was given letters to the Greek Patriarch, and forbidden to proselytize. But the conditions under which he was consecrated were unsatisfactory, for they included an alliance with the Lutherans of Prussia : and his successor, Bishop Gobat, who had been appointed by the King of Prussia, according to the agreement, tried to proselytize from the Orthodox church of the country, and would have caused serious trouble, if Dr. Neale and other English Churchmen had not strongly protested. The arrangement between England and Prussia came to an end in 1881. In 1887 Bishop Blyth was consecrated and sent to Jerusalem with the full approval of the Patriarch, and since then the

refusal of the English church in Palestine to receive proselytes from the Orthodox church under any circumstances has substituted friendship and confidence for the distrust of Anglican intentions which had before prevailed.

In the meantime the Rev. John Mason Neale did much to arouse English interest in the Orthodox churches. He wrote a *History of the Eastern Church*, translated many Greek hymns into English, and was the author of many articles and stories on Orthodox subjects, of which the best known is *Theodora Phranza*, a tale of the fall of Constantinople. The Rev. William Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, visited Russia in 1839, with letters from the venerable Dr. Routh, President of his college, asking the Russian bishops to examine him, and if they found his belief to be orthodox, to admit him to communion. Nothing, however, came of this, and Palmer became a Romanist in 1855. In 1863 and the following years committees were appointed by the English and American churches to report on the progress of reunion with the Orthodox : in 1864 the Eastern Church Association was formed, with Orthodox as well as Anglican bishops for its patrons : in 1866 an English priest was admitted to communion in the cathedral at Belgrade, with the full knowledge and approval of the authorities of the Serbian church. This event inspired Dr. Neale to write his beautiful poem "Good news from Serbia," from which the following verses are taken :

O sweet rainbow, yearned for long and dearly,
That one day One Only Church shall span,
Dim, and broken and incipient merely,
But not less God's Covenant with man !
We shall never see thy perfect beauty :
We shall never trace thy sevenfold form :
Others' be the triumph : ours the duty :
Others' be the sunshine : ours the storm.
Show us, Lord, Thy work ; our sons Thy glory :
Yet of us, though that be all we ask,
May be said, perchance, in future story,
These were men that then did Union's task.

In 1874 and 1875 Orthodox and Anglican theologians met at the conferences of Bonn, arranged by Dr. Döllinger and the Old Catholics (see Chapter V), the theological

differences were discussed, and a formula of agreement on the Filioque Clause was assented to by both sides. In 1888 Archbishop Benson sent a letter of greeting to the Russian church on the occasion of the nine hundredth anniversary of the conversation of St. Vladimir. The Metropolitan of Kieff in his reply enquired what conditions the archbishop would consider necessary for the union of the two churches: but the archbishop's answer put intercommunion first and unity of doctrine second, which is entirely contrary to the Orthodox view of the importance of right faith. Friendly relations were increased by the visits to Russia of Bishop Creighton, Archbishop Maclagan, and other Anglican bishops, and of Antonius, Archbishop of Finland, to England. In 1906 the Anglican and Orthodox Church Union was founded: it was afterwards amalgamated with the Eastern Church Association under the title of the Anglican and Eastern Association, with numerous Orthodox as well as Anglican bishops for its patrons: its presidents are the Archbishop of Yaroslav and Rostov, and the Bishop of London. In 1912 a daughter society was founded in Russia and sanctioned by the Holy Synod. Acts of courtesy from the Orthodox churches to Anglican bishops and priests have been too numerous to relate here. In South Africa, Australia, and other countries, Greeks who have no priest of their own to minister to them have for some years been allowed to receive Communion from Anglican priests celebrating according to the Greek rite. A Greek bishop, who was travelling in Canada, was present at the consecration of the present Bishop of Quebec: he received Holy Communion with the Anglican bishops who were there, and would have taken part in the consecration if he had had time to get leave from his superiors to do so.

But it was the Great War, in which the Orthodox nations were fighting on the side of the Allies, which brought the two Communions nearer to one another than could have been expected a few years ago. When Serbia was occupied by the Austrians and Bulgarians, those of the candidates for ordination who escaped were entrusted by the authorities of the Serbian church to the care of the church of England. The Seminary of St. Sava at Belgrade was re-established at Cuddesdon, where the theological college was lent to the

Serbians for the period of the war. Other Serbian students were sent to be trained at Oxford, at Dorchester, at Mirfield, and other places. Father Nicolai Velimirovitch, a Serbian priest and monk (now Bishop of Zhitcha in Serbia) preached in many churches all over England and Scotland, including St. Paul's and many other cathedrals. The Serbian liturgy was celebrated, with the permission of our bishops, at Birmingham Cathedral, in the college chapel at Cuddesdon, at St. Mary-le-Bow in the City of London, and at the House of Charity, Soho. A number of Serbian students are still reading theology in St. Sava's Hostel at Oxford, under an English principal. They are allowed by their own authorities to attend English services freely. The fact that the future priests of Serbia have been partly trained in England, have formed friendships here, and have learnt to understand our ways and our point of view, makes us hope for much closer relations in the future with the Serbian church, and through her with all the Orthodox churches. During the war the S.P.C.K. supplied to all Serbian soldiers free copies of the first prayer-book in modern Serb, and it has reproduced large quantities of their liturgical books for use in their devastated churches. Nor was Serbia the only Orthodox country to come into closer relations with us through the war. The Bishop of London, on his way back from Salonica, where he had been sent with a message from His Majesty the King to the troops, visited Athens, where he was formally received with the greatest honour by the Holy Synod of Greece: and soon afterwards the Archbishop of Athens came to London, attended a service at St. Paul's Cathedral in full pontificals, and gave the blessing. The Archbishops of Belgrade, Trebizond, and Cyprus, and other orthodox bishops have also been welcomed in London recently by the English church. Conferences have been held in London and Oxford between theologians representing the Greek, Serbian, Roumanian, and English churches, to discuss the points of difference between us, with satisfactory results. A permanent Committee has been appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to represent the English church officially in all dealings with the Orthodox churches.

5. The present relation of the two Communions, therefore, is one of extreme cordiality, accompanied by occasional un-

official intercommunion : but there is no official recognition of the Anglican churches by the Orthodox authorities. The Orthodox Eastern Communion, like the Roman Communion, holds officially that it is the whole Church, and that all who are out of communion with it are heretics. But whereas the Roman test of orthodoxy is submission to the Pope, the Eastern test of orthodoxy is right belief. Many Greek, Serbian, and other Orthodox bishops and theologians think that we believe rightly : and so, though the time is not yet come for full recognition of our claim to be Catholic and Orthodox, they are willing to treat us as though we were. On our side, the Anglican bishops assembled at Lambeth in 1908, gave leave for Communion to be given to any member of the Orthodox churches who had no priest of his own Communion to minister to him, and who was allowed to receive Communion by the laws of his own church and of ours : and this privilege has often been used by the Orthodox in different parts of the world.

6. What are the difficulties which prevent the accomplishment of full reunion between the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Communions ? Before we can answer this question, we must be clear as to what we mean by reunion. No one wishes that either Orthodox or Anglicans should be compelled to change their religious practice. We do not expect to be asked to restore the confirmation and Communion of infants, or to forbid priests to marry after ordination, though our present practice in these matters is of comparatively recent origin : still less do we require the Orthodox to change any of their ancient customs.¹ We should be in no way subject to the jurisdiction of any of their bishops, any more than they would be to ours : but we should have to consult them before we took any far-reaching step, such as entering into communion with any other religious body, or changing any doctrinal standard : and they would consult us in the same way. What we are aiming at is simply the restoration of intercommunion : so that any Anglican Churchman

¹ We should press for the abolition of the re-marriage of divorced persons, which, though contrary to our Lord's command and to the laws of the primitive Church and of the Latin and Anglican churches to-day, has been allowed for many centuries in the Orthodox churches through the influence of Roman law

should have the right to communicate, in any Orthodox church (accepting their rules of discipline, such as fasting and confession before Communion), and any Orthodox Churchman would in the same way have the right to communicate in any Anglican church. And of course it is the whole Anglican Communion to which this will apply, not only that school of thought which is most sympathetic to the Orthodox.

Every form of reunion among Christians requires three conditions. First, there must be a general desire for it on both sides : secondly, there must be unity of belief in fundamentals : thirdly, there must be adjustment of the practical difficulties caused by the schism. In this case, the first condition is almost accomplished already. But there is still ignorance and distrust of the Anglican Communion among some Orthodox ecclesiastics : there is still much ignorance of the Orthodox point of view among ourselves. Thus the Bishop of Uganda and the late Bishop Peel, in their defence of the Kikuyu proposals (see Chapter VII), wrote as follows (*Steps towards Reunion*, sections 89-90) :

“ Reunion with the churches of Rome and of the East is still a remote possibility. Before such communion can become possible vast changes will have passed over those ancient Communions. . . . We do not consider that our recognition of Greek orders will act prejudicially on any future negotiations with the Roman church.” (As if we had any right to demand “ vast changes ” of the Orthodox Eastern Communion, so much larger and more ancient than our own, or as if Rome did not recognize Greek orders !) But on the whole there is a general desire on both sides that intercommunion should be restored. There are no bitter memories, no Fourth Crusade, no fires of Smithfield, to stand between us : and the long series of acts of friendship and courtesy has made the whole atmosphere very favourable to reunion.

The second condition, unity of belief, is always the most important, especially where the Orthodox churches are concerned. There is no obstacle that cannot be overcome, but there are differences in the statement of our belief that require much explanation. If the “ Catholic ” party in the Anglican Communion were alone concerned, there would be no difficulty except the Filioque clause : the other diffi-

culties which the Orthodox find in Anglican formularies and beliefs arise from the peculiar double character of our Communion since the Elizabethan settlement.

The chief authority in matters of faith, after Holy Scripture, is held by the Orthodox to be the decrees of the Seven General Councils. The history of these councils is taught to every Orthodox child, and pictures of them are generally to be found in Orthodox churches. Undoubtedly, if we are to restore intercommunion with the Orthodox, we must accept the doctrinal decrees of these councils. There is no difficulty about the first six. Four of them are formally accepted by us already, and the decrees of the fifth and sixth are only explanations of those of the third and fourth. It is the seventh (the Second Council of Nicæa, A.D. 787) which some of our bishops might be unwilling to accept. This council ordered the veneration of sacred pictures : and, as is well known, the icons or sacred pictures are a very prominent feature in Orthodox worship : the pious Russian or Greek, on entering a church, genuflects before the icon and kisses it, and will often light a candle to burn before the icon of his patron saint. Some of our people may perhaps think this a breach of the Second Commandment. That idea was long ago disproved by St. John of Damascus in his argument against the Iconoclasts. In the eighth century there arose in the Church a party which objected to the use of the sacred pictures, and went about destroying them, like our own Puritans. They were called the Iconoclasts or Image-breakers. After a long and bitter struggle this party was condemned by the Seventh General Council, on the ground that the real reason for their hatred of sacred pictures was disbelief in the Humanity of our Lord. They believed in God as a philosophical idea, but they did not really believe that He had taken human nature and lived and died as Man. And unless pictures of Him had been allowed by the Church, she would have lost hold of the truth of His Incarnation. This is what has actually happened in our own country, where the long disuse of sacred pictures and statues, due to Puritan influence, has removed from the mind of many Englishmen the idea that God has become Man, as the centre of their religion. Dr. Neale tells us that in his youth, when pictures of the Crucifixion were very uncommon in

England, there were multitudes of people who did not know how our Lord died : they had no idea what " crucified " meant. The Second Commandment forbade the Israelites to make likenesses of God, because no picture can be worthy of Him Whose glory is too great for human eyes to behold. But though we cannot see God the Father, Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Son, has been seen by men : therefore we can make pictures and statues of Him which will not be unlike Him or unworthy of Him. The Second Commandment must be interpreted in the light of the Incarnation, as the Fourth Commandment must be in that of our Lord's Resurrection : as we no longer keep Saturday as a day of rest, so we are not forbidden to make pictures of God as Man. It cannot be shown that we have ever formally rejected the decrees of the Seventh Council : so we may fairly claim that we still accept them, as we certainly did once, and that in many of our churches the Crucifix and other sacred pictures are given the honour due to them. We are not called upon to show that honour in exactly the same way as the Orthodox do, provided we accept the principle.

The Orthodox hold that there are seven sacraments : and the doubt, which some of them feel, about the validity of our Orders is not due to any difficulty about our succession, as in the case of the Romanists, but to the indefiniteness of our Prayer Book, which does not anywhere call Holy Orders a sacrament. Our Catechism speaks of two sacraments only : and though the 25th Article refers to " the five commonly called sacraments," it is hardly enough to show that we believe in their sacramental character. The difference is really one of words only. Our Confirmation, Marriage, and Ordination services show quite clearly that we believe that the outward signs convey grace : Absolution is provided for in the Prayer Book, and Unction of the Sick, though we have had no rite for it in the Prayer Book since 1552, is being more and more practised among us, as a remedy for the sick, according to the primitive and Eastern use, rather than as a preparation for death.

The Orthodox also consider our Liturgy very inadequate : it has no real invocation of the Holy Spirit, which they hold to be essential to the consecration (this is

true of the English, as of the Roman, liturgy, but not of those of Scotland and America), and there is not sufficient emphasis on the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which is only mentioned in the Prayer of Oblation ; this prayer has an alternative, and so may never be used at all (it is to be feared that in many churches it is always omitted). They object strongly to certain parts of the Thirty-Nine Articles, especially to the statement in the 19th Article that the churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred. What is needed is a definite statement from the Anglican bishops that they accept the Seven Councils and the Seven Sacraments, and that the Anglican formularies are to be interpreted in accordance with primitive Catholic tradition : but though this is a necessary deduction from the historic Anglican doctrine, it is doubtful whether any clear statement of it could be obtained at present, in view of the internal difficulties of our Communion.

On the other hand, we must not conceal the fact that, whereas the Invocation of Saints is only grudgingly permitted, or rather winked at, in the Anglican Communion, the Orthodox rites are soaked with it. Our services must appear to them cold, because the Saints are not mentioned or invoked, while most of us have an intense dislike and suspicion of anything of the kind. We must frankly admit that in this we shall have to agree to differ. Invocation of Saints is not likely to be adopted as a general practice amongst us for a long time to come. At the same time there can be no doubt that the Orthodox have a far stronger hold on the doctrine of the Communion of Saints than we have : indeed this article of the Creed cannot be said to be more than nominally held by most of us. And there are two reasons why the Invocation of Saints is less open to objection in its Orthodox than in its Romanist form. In the first place, the Orthodox churches teach, not that we approach our Lord through the Saints, but that we have access to them only because we and they alike live in Him : and secondly, they draw no hard and fast distinctions between different classes of Christians, between the living on earth, the souls in Purgatory, and the Saints in Paradise, but teach that all are one family bound together by love, and therefore all pray one for another : nor do they confine their requests for prayer to the canon-

ized saints, but also ask the dead whom they have known themselves to pray for them : for instance, the Russian theologian Khomiakoff wrote the following poem on his dead children :—

Time was, when I loved at still midnight to come,
My children, to see you asleep in your room ;
The Cross' holy sign on your foreheads to trace,
And commend you in prayer to the love and the grace
Of our gracious and merciful God. . . .

Dear children, at that same still midnight do ye,
As I once prayed for you, now in turn pray for me :
Me who loved well the Cross on your foreheads to trace ;
Now commend me in turn to the mercy and grace
Of our gracious and merciful God.¹

It is clear that the danger of making demi-gods of the Saints, which is, I suppose, our chief objection to asking them for their prayers, is much diminished if it is not only the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles, and the great heroes of Church history, but also our own friends whom we address.

The third condition for reunion, practical adjustment, is only required in the New World, where the two Communions exist side by side, and in Japan, where both have missions : it would probably not be difficult for the bishops concerned to make suitable arrangements.

7. Something must be said of the separated churches of the East. In Chapter III we considered the reason for the Nestorian and Monophysite schisms. These churches have continued in their separation ever since : but it seems probable that in practice they no longer teach the false doctrines by which they were originally distinguished. The Monophysite churches are the Coptic church of Egypt : the Abyssinian or Ethiopic church : the Jacobite church of Syria, with its branch on the Malabar coast of India : and the Armenian church. The Copts were very nearly reunited with the Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria about fifty years ago, but the enlightened Patriarch upon whom all depended was poisoned by the Turks. The scheme of union was not approved of, for political reasons, by those who were then powerful in Egypt. The Abyssinian church is dependent on the Coptic church for its archbishop, and

¹ W. J. Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, p. 2.

is perhaps the most corrupt and barbaric of all Christian churches. The "Jacobite" church of Syria (so called from its founder, Jacob Baradaeus, who lived in the sixth century) has its patriarch at Mardin, who claims to be the true Patriarch of Antioch. The "Christians of St. Thomas" in Malabar are a very interesting body. They were certainly in existence in the fourth century, and they may date, as their own tradition says, from St. Thomas the Apostle. They were part of the great Nestorian Communion in the Middle Ages. When the Portuguese arrived in India, they compelled the native Christians to submit to Rome, and burnt all their ancient books. Two generations later some of them revolted from Rome: but being unable to approach the Nestorian Patriarch in the mountains of Kurdistan, they obtained bishops from the Jacobite Patriarch in Syria, and have been formally Monophysite ever since. In the nineteenth century the Church Missionary Society attempted to educate them, but unfortunately also insisted on their giving up some of their old customs, including prayers for the dead. The result was a schism: the "Reformed Syrians" use a liturgy based on the English Prayer Book, written in their own tongue, Malalayam, while the "Orthodox" or rather Monophysite church uses the Liturgy of St. James in Syriac. Among the latter there has been recently a great revival of spiritual life and zeal for missions to the heathen, which is being encouraged and helped by the Oxford Mission to Calcutta. They number several hundred thousand.

The church of the Armenian nation, which has suffered so terribly under Turkish rule, especially during and since the late war, is nominally Monophysite: it is much the largest of the separated churches, for its members are counted by millions. Its chief bishop is the Catholicos or Patriarch of Etchmiadzin at the foot of Mount Ararat.

The Nestorian, East Syrian, or Assyrian church is a small body whose home is the mountains of Kurdistan. It is the modern representative of the ancient church of the Persian Empire, and of the great Nestorian Communion

¹ It is this schismatic body, not the ancient church of Malabar, which it is proposed to unite with the Anglican dioceses in South India and with the "South India United Church," a Protestant body. See the Bishop of Tinnevely's article in *East and West*, Jan., 1920.

of the Middle Ages, which had its centre at Bagdad and its furthest mission in China : and its members are almost the only people who still speak Syriac, the language used by our Lord. It is this church which was assisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission, founded by Archbishop Benson, from 1886 to 1914. It has suffered terribly in the war, and its future is still uncertain. There is a small body in India which is in communion with it, and which is due to a schism in the Uniat (Romanist) church in Malabar.

Beside each of these churches, and also beside the Orthodox churches, there exist small bodies of converts to Romanism, who are allowed to keep their own customs, but until recently were forbidden to communicate with one another or with Romanists of the Latin rite. These bodies are called Uniat. The Uniats of the Assyrian rite and nation are called Chaldeans.

It is to be hoped that all these separated churches will soon be reunited with the Orthodox Eastern Communion. What kept them apart, quite as much as their heresies, was the association of the Orthodox Church with the Roman Empire of Constantinople, and afterwards the blight of Turkish rule. Now that both these obstacles have disappeared, we may hope that a way out of the theological disputes will be found.

8. As we look forward into the future, we see a vision of one great Eastern Communion, reunited with ourselves, and sending out its missions with ours into all the world. We see the Mohammedans of Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia brought back by the united Christian Church to the Faith which their fathers lost. We see the great mosque in Damascus, with its still unerased inscription, "Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is a Kingdom of all ages," restored to Christian worship, not by force, but by the conversion of the Mohammedans. We see even Mecca and Medina, the Holy Cities of the Prophet, ringing with the praises of the Incarnate Son of God : while in the earthly Jerusalem, so long desecrated by the quarrels of Christians, pilgrims from all nations worship side by side at the place where their Master overcame the power of death. We see Greek, Egyptian, and Armenian missionaries founding new churches in Central Africa. We see the church of St. Thomas gathering round it all the converts

of the European missions in India into one great native Indian church, with its glorious cathedrals all over that most religious of lands echoing the words of the ancient Liturgy of St. James.¹ We see the Anglican and Russian missions in Japan united, and marching to the conquest of the Far East, not for Mammon, but for Christ. In Europe we see the mutual bonds of love and service between the English church and the churches of Russia, Serbia, Roumania, and Greece growing ever stronger, and killing that distrust between nations which has been the cause of so many wars. In North America we see the churches of the two rites working together to build up the Church all over those vast provinces and States. We see the cathedral of the Holy Wisdom in Constantinople restored for Christian worship, not now the central shrine of a despotic empire, but the meeting-place of the representatives of the Catholic churches of free nations throughout the world. "The Lord hath done great things for us already, whereof we rejoice. Turn our captivity, O Lord, as the rivers in the south : they that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that now goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him."

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CHAPTER VII

HOME REUNION

I. PERHAPS the reader will say, "All this time you have scarcely touched the problem with which you started. Of the nine denominations whose places of worship the Indian saw in his drive through London, you have only mentioned two, the Anglican and the Romanist. But the kind of reunion in which most of us are chiefly interested, as being the most practicable and the most urgently needed, is reunion between the church of England and the Non-conformists."

We must now turn to the consideration of this question. Reunion with the Nonconformists is only the English form of a much greater question, namely, how are the great Communions which are the offspring of the Reformation to be reunited with the ancient churches of Christendom? If we devote this chapter to the problem as it appears among the English-speaking peoples (not only in England, but also in Scotland, Ireland, the Dominions, and the United States), it is not because we are forgetting the Protestants of the Continent. Indeed, I think that for some generations we have paid too little attention to them. One party in the Anglican Communion has been content to regard them vaguely as holding much the same religion as ourselves, which is far from being true. Another party has considered them to be heretics, but heretics whose conversion must be left entirely to the Roman Communion, any attempt on our part to approach them being regarded as an act of schism. With this view I cannot agree. We protest against the peculiar doctrines of Rome, and we remain in schism rather than accept them for ourselves. Then how can we be content to leave Continental Protestants to the missionary efforts of Rome? If the Catholic religion, as we understand it, is true, it is true everywhere, not in England only: but few Christian west of the

Vistula and the Adriatic have any choice between accepting the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope, with the other Romanist doctrines (and also, in many countries, a particular side in secular politics, for Continental Romanism is often quite as much political as theological), and denying the whole primitive doctrine of the Church and Sacraments, if not even more fundamental articles of the Christian creed. I do not say that we ought to start a campaign to convert Continental Protestants, for which we have not men available, but I do think that we ought to take every opportunity of explaining to them the Catholic position as we understand it.

We must remember that large numbers of Continental Protestants have ceased to believe in the Godhead of our Lord. French and Swiss Calvinists, finding it impossible any longer to accept the terrible doctrines of their founder, have for the most part surrendered the central Christian truths as well. In Geneva itself, some generations ago, hardly one minister could be found who still accepted the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The influence of German theologians, who deny the possibility of miracle, and would reduce the position of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, to that of a great moral teacher, or that of an enthusiastic but mistaken prophet of a Golden Age to come, is powerful even in the English church, and much more so in the Lutheran world. The "Evangelical Church of Prussia" was formed by the union of the Lutheran and Calvinist bodies in that country on undenominational lines, which was imposed on them by the King of Prussia in 1819: and it appears to be possible to be a parish minister in it while not believing in a personal God. At any rate Pastor Jatho, shortly before the war, claimed the right to do this, and found many sympathizers. The Reformed Church established in Holland is so unorthodox that the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, which still adheres to the three creeds, has separated from its communion.

In recent years efforts in the direction of reunion have been made between the Anglican Communion and the Lutherans in Scandinavia, especially Sweden, where the Apostolic Succession has been almost certainly retained.¹

¹ The Danes and Norwegians have "bishops," but there is a break in their succession: the original reforming "bishops" were

A Swedish bishop came to the Lambeth Conference of 1908, and a commission of Anglican bishops and theologians appointed by it afterwards visited Sweden and declared themselves satisfied that Swedish Orders were valid. There are, however, serious doctrinal difficulties in the way of reunion. The Swedes are in full communion with all other Lutherans, so that they clearly do not consider episcopacy necessary, and the question arises whether they mean by a bishop what the Church has always meant.¹ Further, they have dropped Confirmation and the Order of Deacons, and they accept the Confession of Augsburg,² which has been held by some Anglican theologians, such as Dr. Pusey and Dr. Bright, to be heretical. In any case we ought not to take any formal step in this direction without making sure that it will not hinder reunion with the Orthodox Eastern churches.

2. But it is "Home Reunion" which attracts most attention to-day. Probably it is the most burning question now before the Anglican Communion, not only in England but all over the world. But desire for home reunion is sometimes due to inadequate motives. Statesmen desire it, because schism divides and weakens the nation: social workers, because schism is a perpetual hindrance to reform: and they do not always recognize that if we have to choose between the maintenance of revealed truth and the welfare, or even the existence, of the British nations, we must without hesitation choose the former. This is not to say that we are confronted by any such choice: I do

"consecrated" in 1537 by Johann Bugenhagen, who was only in priest's orders. Dr. Seabury, the first bishop in America, when he could not obtain consecration from the English bishops, thought of seeking it in Denmark, but was dissuaded by Dr. Routh of Magdalen College, Oxford, then quite a young man, who told him that he would not find there what he wanted, and advised him to ask the Scottish bishops to consecrate him, which they did. Later on the Danish "bishops" thought of recovering their succession by seeking consecration in England, but were dissuaded by the famous theologian Dr. Martensen.

¹ Rome condemns Anglican orders on this ground; but the Anglican churches have never allowed men not ordained by a bishop to act as priests, nor have they ever been in full communion with any non-episcopal body. See A. J. Mason. *Episcopacy in the Church of England*.

² A statement of belief drawn up by the German Lutherans in 1530, and adopted by the Swedes in 1593.

not think we are. But it is necessary, when there is so much sentimentalism and want of principle in English religious thought, to emphasize the fact that there is but one Truth, and that even peace and unity are not worth having if truth is the price we must pay for them.

3. When, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, those who had fled to the Continent during Queen Mary's reign returned to England, they brought back with them enthusiasm for the doctrine and system of Calvin. Many of them were dissatisfied with the Elizabethan compromise, and did all they could to make the English church completely Calvinistic. At one time they went so far as to establish a private organization of "classes" on Presbyterian lines within the church, hoping that it would ultimately take the place of the existing government by bishops. This party, who were called Puritans, were in power from 1645 to 1660: but they never converted the majority of the nation to their views, and at the Restoration it became clear that as their principles were incompatible with those of the Church, and as they could not capture the church of England, they must separate. Those ministers who refused to be ordained by the bishops and to use the Prayer Book were deprived of the livings into which they had been intruded under the Commonwealth, and had to set up a separate organization. This had been done before on a small scale by the more extreme Puritans: but English Nonconformity, as an important part of the life of the nation, dates from 1662. For many years they were subject to various civil disabilities, amounting to severe persecution: the English government still clung to the old medieval idea that church and state are different aspects of a single community, and those who rejected the former were naturally deprived of their rights in the latter. But all these disabilities have long been abolished. The King must belong to the English church, but all his subjects may be of what religion they please.¹

The Nonconformists,² or, more accurately, Dissenters,

¹ With two or three exceptions.

² The word Nonconformist originally meant a man who remained in the communion of the church, but would not obey her. A priest who refuses to say the Athanasian Creed, or who gives Benediction when forbidden to do so by his bishop, is a Nonconformist in the old sense.

of 1662, were divided into three main sects, the Presbyterians, Congregationalists or Independents, and Baptists. The Presbyterians have an elaborate church system modelled on that established by Calvin at Geneva. They hold that there is only one order of ministers, the Presbyters, and that these have the power to ordain. The authority of a minister comes from the synod of presbyters by whom he is ordained: some Presbyterians claim Apostolic succession through presbyters from the medieval Church and hold that all presbyters are the same as bishops. They attach great importance to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which they receive sitting, and a few, such as Dr. James Cooper, and the late Dr. Milligan, hold the full doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Priesthood. Presbyterianism is not very strong in England, where it is a modern importation from Scotland, for the old English Presbyterians gave up their belief in our Lord's Godhead, and became Unitarian; but in Scotland it has been the religion of the great majority of the nation since 1689. The old church of Scotland was overthrown in 1560. Episcopacy was re-introduced in 1610, and again in 1660. In 1689 the Scottish bishops refused to accept William of Orange as their King. A schism followed: those who remained in communion with the bishops formed the "Scottish Episcopal Church," which claims to be the faithful remnant of the Catholic Church in Scotland, and which is the only body in Scotland in communion with the church of England. Those who separated from the bishops kept the buildings, the endowments, and most of the organization of the pre-1689 church. They are known as the "Church of Scotland." There have been several Presbyterian schisms, of which the chief was the "Disruption" of 1843, when the "Free Church" was formed. Most of the separated bodies are now joined together in the "United Free Church," which is in process of being reunited with the "Church of Scotland." All Scottish Presbyterians except one or two small sects are agreed in doctrine.

The Congregationalists or Independents hold that each congregation is an entirely free and independent church: and that the minister derives his authority from his congregation. "The Congregational Union" is a voluntary

association of such congregations: it has in theory no power of discipline over particular congregations or ministers: though in practice a congregation which is not self-supporting may be subject to financial pressure.

The Baptists are the same as the Congregationalists, except that they only allow grown-up people to be baptized; and they always baptize by immersion (like the Orthodox Eastern churches).

The only other body dating from Puritan times which we need mention is the small mystical sect of the Friends or "Quakers," founded about 1656 as a protest against Puritan rigidity. They have no sacraments of any kind, nor any set form of worship: they object on principle to taking oaths even in a law-court, and to military service. They have done a great work for the improvement of prisons, the abolition of slavery, and other social reforms: but they stand apart from the other Nonconformist bodies, and we need not consider them further.

The Unitarians, who do not accept the Divinity of our Lord or the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, are not in the ordinary sense Christians (except so far as their baptism is valid). They are outside the scheme of this book.

But modern Nonconformity owes at least as much to the Methodist revival as to the Puritan tradition. John Wesley, a priest of the English church, and Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, was one of the most remarkable men that England has ever produced. For more than fifty years (1738-1790) he journeyed continually through England, Ireland, and Scotland, preaching conversion from sin and the power of Jesus Christ to save sinners. He is said to have travelled two hundred and fifty thousand miles and to have preached forty thousand sermons, that is, fifteen a week for fifty years. In an age when the Church, not only in England but everywhere, was dull, conventional, and inclined to rationalism, when bishops and their clergy dreaded nothing so much as "enthusiasm," and when large sections of the people, miners and others, were altogether unprovided for by the Church, the preaching of John Wesley and his followers kept religion alive. It was the first great popular religious movement since the Reformation. The system of the English church was rigidly parochial, and Wesley ignored it altogether. In an

age when it was considered hardly legal to hold any other service than those provided in the Prayer Book, he boldly conducted mission services in the open air, whether the local clergy approved or not. His work was marvellously successful. All over the country his societies sprang up: they were called Methodist because they followed a particular method of devotion and instruction. Often they were cruelly persecuted. Wesley himself was more than once nearly killed by an excited mob. But though he himself was a strong Churchman, and forbade his followers to separate from the Church,¹ many thousands of them, who owed all they knew of religion to the Methodist Society, and nothing to the official clergy (who often did all they could to oppose Methodism), cared nothing for the church of England, and separated from it soon after Wesley's death. In America, where there had never been a bishop, so that all who wished to be confirmed or ordained had to go to England, the situation was still worse. Wesley in his old age became persuaded that though only in priest's orders he had the right to ordain, and laid his hands on Coke and Asbury, to make them "superintendents" of the Methodists in America: they afterwards, without his sanction, took the title of bishops. It was of this "ordination" that Charles Wesley, John's brother and assistant, wrote:

How easily are bishops made
By man or woman's whim!
Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
But who laid hands on him?

This is the origin of the "Episcopal Methodists," who number many millions in America. Their "bishops" neither are nor claim to be bishops in the Catholic sense.

The Wesleyans are not the only body of Methodists. The Primitive Methodist and the United Methodist Connexions are the result of schisms from the original society caused by differences on points of discipline. The Calvinistic Methodists of Wales were founded by another great preacher, George Whitefield, who was contemporary with Wesley. Being Calvinists, they have become closely connected with the Presbyterians.

¹ Though he did not wish to leave the Church, much of his work tended in that direction.

All Methodists have the same system.¹ Members of the society are organized in "classes"; two or three ministers are jointly responsible for a group of chapels called a circuit, and are normally changed every three years: they are appointed by the annual Conference, and paid from a central fund. Many of them use a Prayer Book based on that of the English church. In doctrine they have, with some exceptions, fallen away from the high sacramental teaching of Wesley, and have long tended to become more and more like other Nonconformists.

The Salvation Army is a semi-military organization founded by William Booth, for the conversion of those who are not reached by other denominations. This curious sect now extends all over the world. It has done a noble work for the submerged class, but in some ways its influence is disastrous: it is the one large body in the English-speaking world which rejects baptism altogether, and it tends to destroy the still general belief that infants ought to be baptized: it is also accused of being the cause of moral failures by its inability to build up those who have passed through the emotional experience of conversion.

The "Catholic Apostolic Church," commonly called Irvingite, stands apart from all other Nonconformists. It is not really Protestant at all. It claims to have received a new revelation of the speedy end of the world, and a new hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons. But it is a small and diminishing body, and we need not describe its doctrines in detail.

The rest of this chapter will deal only with the four principal kinds of Nonconformists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists. There are many smaller bodies, but these four include the bulk of English Nonconformists. I believe that the same is true of the English-speaking world as a whole. In England all the Nonconformists together do not quite come up to the church of England in numbers. Elsewhere they far exceed her.

4. No doubt there were many reasons for the rise of Nonconformity. But certainly one of the most important was the impoverishment of Church life which was due to the English Reformation. In earlier days there were

¹ There are important constitutional differences: and a recent proposal to unite the principal Methodist bodies in England was not well received.

different forms of life within the Church. Those who felt called to lead a more devout life than their neighbours could enter a monastery or nunnery : or if they wished to remain in the world, they could attach themselves as associates or "tertiaries" to the Franciscans or some other religious order. There were religious guilds which had their own services. There were pilgrimages to be made, sacred shrines to be visited, special saints to be worshipped. Religion may have been corrupt and superstitious, but it was full and interesting.

The Reformation altered all this. In England it was carried out, not by the people, but by statesmen and scholars. The religious orders, the monasteries, nunneries, and chantries, the pilgrimages and the relics were swept away. The government took control of the church ; like all governments, it wanted uniformity, which is so much easier to manage than diversity, and it cared little for the loss to the religious life of the people. The parochial system was the only form in which the church was allowed to express herself. Except for the rare celebrations of Holy Communion, Mattins and Evensong were almost the only regular services. The clergy were bound by the Act of Uniformity (till quite recently many of them doubted whether extra services or extempore prayers were "legal") : the laity were forbidden to preach. The only course for those who felt called to live a more devout life than their neighbours was to join some independent sect. A layman like John Bunyan, who felt himself called to preach, would in pre-Reformation times have joined one of the Orders of Friars : to-day he would have been given a lay-reader's licence : but in the seventeenth century he was compelled to become a Baptist, and all that the authorities could do was to imprison him again and again for the sole crime of preaching out-of-doors. (We are not told that what he taught was false : to judge by the *Pilgrim's Progress*, he was probably quite as orthodox as many of the clergy.)

There is therefore much truth in the theory that the original Nonconformity was the expression of a side of religion which had been lost sight of in the church. This is still more true of Methodism, as we have seen. Unfortunately the movement which began by being stricter than the ordinary parochial life ended by being less strict : and the teaching of the church, especially where the full

influence of the Oxford Movement has extended, demands much more than that of Nonconformity. The man who is bound by his rule of life not only to say his prayers and read his Bible, but also to assist in the offering of the Holy Eucharist every Sunday without fail, to get up early and make his Communion fasting at least once a month, to make his confession at regular intervals, and to keep the fasts of the Church, is living by a very different standard from that of the Elizabethan or Hanoverian parish against which Puritanism and Methodism were protests. And those who feel called to lead a more devout life than their neighbours can find every kind of association for that purpose, from orders of enclosed monks and nuns down to ordinary parish guilds. 

5. When we come to discuss reunion with the Nonconformists, we find ourselves confronted at the outset with the almost insuperable difficulty of understanding their point of view. The Romanists, and in a less degree the Orthodox, use the same words and look at religion from the same standpoint as we do. We may not always understand one another, but at least we are using different dialects of the same language. We are in the region of creeds and liturgies, of decrees of councils, of hierarchies and sacraments: we appeal to the same Scriptures, the same Fathers, and the same traditions, though we may interpret them differently. But when we come to talk to our Nonconformist fellow-countrymen, we are in an unknown world. Has anyone ever thought of asking the Presbyterians or the Wesleyans how many General Councils they accept? We speak of the unity of the Church, and we find that they mean a different thing by the word unity, and a different kind of thing by the word Church: of validity of orders, and we find that we are not agreed as to what "validity" means, or as to what "orders" means. The cause of the difference is that they are on the other side of the line which divides Protestant from traditional Christianity. So broad-minded a Nonconformist as the Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, Ex-President of the Free Church Council, when urging the federation of English Nonconformists, says: "I am convinced that it is hopeless to win countries under the sway of the Roman or the Orthodox church, or of infidelity, with anything less than a united

Evangelicalism." (*Churches at the Cross-Roads*, p. 148). The ancient churches of Christendom are to him only fields for missionary effort: the idea of union with them has apparently never occurred to him. And we cannot help suspecting that the really great concessions which he would make to us are only made on the assumption that we too are on the side of Protestantism and against traditional Christianity.

But the very breadth of the difference between us has its hopeful side. It is just because we are so different that we need one another. We think in different ways because we make different claims and perform different functions: and for that very reason reunion is more possible than if we were both performing the same function and claiming the same position. Perhaps the following illustration will make my meaning clearer. A man is entitled to receive a challenge cup as a prize for some athletic victory. Two cups are placed before him. They may be both silver, but he knows that only one of them can be the challenge cup: the other is the wrong one. They cannot both be right. The church of England and the Romanist church in England are like the two cups. Each claims to be the true church, but they cannot both be right, nor can their claims be reconciled. But the church of England and the Nonconformist bodies are like the bowl and the stem of the same cup, which has somehow got broken. The bowl is not of much use without the stem, and the stem is of still less use without the bowl. It is difficult to solder them together, because they have been roughly handled, and they no longer fit. And the difficulty is made greater, because the bowl has so long done without the stem that it does not feel that it needs one, and the stem has turned itself upside down and used its foot for a bowl, and is now inclined to argue that the real bowl is not only unnecessary but superstitious!

6. The present relations between the Anglican Communion and the Nonconformists are hard to define, because they differ so much in different places. Officially the Anglican churches do not recognize the Nonconformist bodies at all. Their ministers must be ordained if they wish to serve as ministers in the Church: their members are not admitted to Communion not only because they are

not confirmed, but also because they are not members of any church in communion with the Anglican bishops. This point is often overlooked. Suppose that a baptized Nonconformist or Presbyterian wishes to become a communicant in the Church. It is not enough that he should be confirmed. He ought first to be received into the congregation, like a child privately baptized: and only then, strictly speaking, has he the right to receive the gift of confirmation. He is already, if properly baptized, a member of the Catholic Church, a regenerate man: but his baptism is irregular, and it must be formally recognized by the local church before he is admitted to any rights of membership. A confirmed man who has become a Nonconformist ought not to be again admitted to Communion by the church until he has been formally received back.

On the other hand the Nonconformists and most Presbyterians fully recognize the Anglican Communion and are willing to communicate in it, and to admit its members to communion. But their views about terms of communion are different from those of traditional Christianity. One might have thought that the Presbyterian, with his high sacramental doctrine and his presbyteral succession of ministers, would be much nearer to the Church than he is to the Congregationalist. But it is not so. All Nonconformists, one might almost say all Protestants, will communicate together, at any rate on great occasions such as the Edinburgh Missionary Conference. They do not consider any of their differences from one another to be important. Ministers often pass freely from one denomination to another. In Canada the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists have united in a single body, and the same process is going on in other countries.

7. We have seen that there are three necessary conditions for any scheme of reunion: (i.) A general desire for it on both sides: (ii) Unity of belief in fundamentals: (iii) Practical adjustment. Unfortunately even the first is still far from being general in this case. The leaders on both sides see that reunion is necessary. The man in the street sees it also, but he does not understand the difficulties in the way, or approach the matter in the right spirit. He would like each side to surrender what is not common to both, and does not see that the only result would be the impoverish-

ment of both. In consequence, his demand for reunion does much more harm than good. On the other hand the man in the pew does not think that reunion is desirable or possible. The difference between Churchmen and Nonconformists in England is quite as much social and political as theological or religious: and it has been embittered by the social contempt for Nonconformity which is still too common among Churchmen, and by the efforts of some Nonconformists to get the ancient endowments of the church of England, which were given for the perpetual maintenance of her services, confiscated for such purposes as museums, art galleries, and wash-houses. Churchmen of all schools fail to understand how anyone who values religion can defend such a policy, and find it hard to forgive. The bitterness of the long education controversy, which was partly due to fundamental differences as to the nature and functions of the Church, has also done much harm to the cause of Christian unity. And confusion is increased by the fact that the relation of the English church to Nonconformity is the most acutely controversial question within the church itself. Nevertheless a better spirit is growing. The Student Christian Movement and the union of Churchmen and Nonconformists for temperance and purity work have helped to make us know more of one another. We need to talk less about brotherhood, to try to understand one another better, and to pray more for one another. Sentimentalism, in this as in other matters, is the curse of our country. We shall never begin to be united until we realize how profoundly we are divided.

8. When we come to the question whether our belief is the same, in fundamental matters, we find the sharpest difference between different schools of thought within the Anglican Communion. But before discussing this question, let us first settle what we mean by "fundamental." I propose to use the word in the following sense. A fundamental belief, held by a body of Christians, is a belief which they consider so important that they cannot admit to Holy Communion, or themselves receive Holy Communion from, those who formally refuse to accept it. I say formally, because a man's private belief may not be the same as that to which he is officially committed. I cannot, before I communicate in a strange church, enquire as to the private

belief of the priest. It is enough for me that he, as an officer of the Church, is formally committed to her doctrines.

It is not necessary here to defend the dependence of admission to Communion upon right belief. The reader must accept it as a fact: for it is quite certain that no scheme of reunion will succeed unless both parties to it are convinced that their belief in fundamentals is the same.

To Romanists, the supremacy of the Pope and all that it includes is fundamental; to the Orthodox churches and most Anglicans, the opposite is fundamental in the sense that they would rather remain in separation from the Latin churches than accept the Papal supremacy. To the Orthodox churches the decrees of the Seven Councils are fundamental: between them and the Anglican churches there is no fundamental difference, and so occasional intercommunion is possible, though there is much to be done before full reunion can be brought about. Between the different Nonconformist bodies, again, there is no fundamental difference: they can, and do, communicate with one another. But whether there is any fundamental difference between the Anglican Communion and the Nonconformists is just the point on which the most bitter controversy exists. Nonconformists for the most part say that there is none. The Anglican Communion includes at least five distinct parties (some say nine!), but for this purpose it may be considered as divided into two, which we may call, for convenience, "High Church" and "Low Church." The "High Church" view, held by "Catholics," "Ultramarines" and some Moderate Churchmen, is that there is a fundamental difference of belief between us and the Nonconformists: the "Low Church" view, held by other Moderate Churchmen, and by the "Evangelical" and "Liberal" parties, is that there is not.

9. Mr. Shakespeare gives the following summary of the main contentions of the Nonconformists (*The Churches at the Cross Roads*, p. 55): "First, that the Church is composed of those who have been born again, and that its membership is not co-extensive with the nation or secured by the sacraments of baptism and confirmation: second, that the internal life of the Church is a spiritual fellowship, totally different from the secular relation of parishioners: and thirdly, that the authority of the Church is vested under

Christ Himself in the people of God as distinct from government by a clerical or sacerdotal hierarchy." If this description is generally accepted, the Nonconformists are nearer to the "High Church" position than might have been thought. How gladly would the Catholic party agree that the Church is composed of those who have been born again,¹ that its membership is not co-extensive with the nation, and that the life of the Church is a spiritual fellowship (that is, one of fellow-communicants, not of fellow-rate-payers!) It is evidently with the views of the English Church Union,² rather than with those of the Churchmen's Union, that Mr. Shakespeare sympathizes! Even the third position would be admitted, if carefully guarded, to represent one side of the truth: it is the teaching of the Orthodox churches that it is the whole body of the faithful, not the bishops or the clergy alone, to which the guardianship of the Faith is entrusted: though of course the hierarchy has its necessary place in the government.

10. The "Low Church" position is that the church of England is a society of the same kind as the Nonconformist bodies, differing from them only in matters not fundamental: that the Catholic Church is simply the sum of all such bodies: that episcopacy, though the best and oldest form of Church government, is not essential, but is, as Evangelicals are fond of saying, of the "bene esse," not of the "esse," of the Church: that the Nonconformist attitude towards the Bible, the creeds, and the sacraments is entirely satisfactory. According to this view unity of belief in fundamentals already exists: but immediate reunion is impossible owing to practical difficulties; for one thing the Nonconformist laity are by no means prepared, as Mr. Shakespeare is, to accept episcopacy as a form of government. In the meantime, the way must be prepared by closer co-operation, not only in social and moral reform, but also in worship. Ministers of each Communion (we may count the Nonconformist denominations as one Communion) are to preach in one another's

¹ They do not use this expression in the same sense as Mr. Shakespeare.

² The English Church Union is the chief society for maintaining and defending the principles of the "Catholic" party. The Churchmen's Union performs the same function for the "Liberal" or "Broad Church" party.

pulpits, taking care, of course, to say nothing contrary to the teaching to which the congregation they are addressing is accustomed. Members of each Communion are to be welcomed with "spiritual hospitality" to the Lord's Table in the other, especially in places where no minister of their own denomination is to be found, or on great occasions, such as days of national rejoicing, when "united Communion services" are recommended. The relation proposed is not unlike that of the English and Serbian churches described in the last chapter. At present there is no general permission in the Anglican Communion for any of these practices (on the Nonconformist side there would be little or no difficulty), but some of them are permitted and even encouraged by some Anglican bishops. The agreement reached by the famous Kikuyu Conference of 1913 is not only the most celebrated case of the kind, but also one of the most defensible: for it was an attempt to solve an urgent problem which had to be settled somehow, and the two bishops who took part in it declared that they could do nothing without the full consent of the highest ecclesiastical authorities of the church of England ("The Kikuyu Conference," p. 8).

II. The British East Africa Protectorate, a country about half the size of the United Kingdom, with a native population, mainly heathen, estimated at four million, is occupied by four or five missions, which have divided it into "spheres of influence," and have agreed not to intrude upon each other's territory. (The Romanist Mission has no share in this agreement.) The mission sent by the church of England consists of the missionary diocese of Mombasa and part of the diocese of Uganda. These two dioceses are supported by the Church Missionary Society, which is the largest missionary society in England, and is "Evangelical" in its teaching. In June, 1913, the Bishops of Mombasa¹ and Uganda,² with some of their priests, went to Kikuyu, the head station of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) Mission, to discuss with representatives of the other missions the question of co-operation. It was necessary to make provision for Christian natives who found themselves in a part of the country which was not in the sphere of influence of their own Communion, and in consequence, since they were deprived of their Christian privi-

¹ Dr. Peel,

² Dr. Willis.

leges, were in great danger of falling back into heathenism and immorality: and it was also felt to be essential, in view of the advance of Mohammedanism in overwhelming strength, that the Christian forces should be united as far as possible. An agreement was drawn up for a federal union: similar discipline and services on similar lines were to be established in all the missions: communicants of one denomination were to be admitted to communion in the others: ministers of the different missions were to be welcomed to the pulpits of all of them. The Friends' Mission and some smaller missions were not included in the agreement. At the close of the conference a united Communion service was held. The Bishop of Mombasa celebrated and all the delegates communicated.

But a little further down the coast, in the island of Zanzibar, there is another Anglican bishop, whose diocese is supported by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, and belongs entirely to the "Catholic" school of thought. Dr. Weston, the present bishop, himself a great theologian, protested most strongly against the Kikuyu Agreement, on the ground that the doctrines held in common by the parties to it did not include (i) the Athanasian Creed; (ii) Confirmation; (iii) Absolution; (iv) Episcopacy; (v) the necessity of a priest to be the minister of Holy Communion; (vi) Infant Baptism; (vii) the traditional doctrine of the Catholic Church and the Communion of Saints. He asked the Bishop of St. Albans¹ to join him in requesting the Archbishop of Canterbury to have the question judged by himself and at least twelve bishops of his province. Soon afterwards he published a rival scheme for a central missionary council for that part of Africa (March 10, 1914). This council was to foster a common policy in matters of discipline, and to use a common form of worship at its meetings: but was not to share in any policy which should permit intercommunion or interchange of pulpits between the missions of the English church and those of the Presbyterians and Nonconformists. The Archbishop of Canterbury, thinking that the court demanded by the Bishop of Zanzibar was not fitted to try the case, asked the Consultative Body of Bishops, representing the whole Anglican Communion except the American church, to give him their opinion, whether the proposals

¹ Dr. Jacob.

of the Kikuyu Conference and the united Communion service with which it ended were consistent with the principles of the church of England.¹ The Bishop of Zanzibar on one side, and the Bishop of Mombasa and Uganda on the other, drew up statements of their respective sides and handed them in. Meanwhile the case created immense excitement in England, and a flood of pamphlets on both sides appeared. The Consultative Body met in the last week of July, 1914: the Archbishop's decision, based upon their advice, was given at Easter, 1915. It was to the effect that communicants of the Church were not to be allowed to receive Communion from ministers not ordained by a bishop: but that communicants of the other missions might be admitted to Communion with the consent of the bishop of the diocese, and that their ministers might preach at the regular services of the Church.² This decision was accepted by the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda, and was agreed to by the second Kikuyu Conference of 1918. The Bishop of Zanzibar attended it, and explained his alternative proposal. He was heard with respect, but his proposal was not accepted.

We have here, then, a clear policy, accepted by a large party in the Anglican Communion. A more recent development of it is that a number of leading Nonconformist ministers have declared themselves willing to accept a proposal made by the Bishop of Norwich to permit interchange of pulpits under certain conditions. But reunion with the Nonconformists will be useless if it includes conditions which the other party in the Anglican Communion cannot accept: for the only result will be that we shall substitute one schism for another by splitting the Anglican Communion in two. Besides, a united Protestant church of the English-speaking peoples, so far from being a stepping-stone to a wider reunion, would suffer in an exaggerated degree from the special defects of those peoples and would in consequence drift yet further from the Con-

¹ Not, be it observed, of the Universal Church.

² This decision was not a formal command by the Archbishop as Metropolitan, but the opinion of an arbitrator who had been asked by both parties to judge between them. See N. P. Williams. *The Kikuyu Opinion*. It has been repudiated by the South African bishops.

tinental churches. As we protest against the domination of Latin Christianity, so the young churches of Asia and Africa may yet come to protest against the domination of unmixed British and American religious ideas. We have therefore to consider the "High Church" view that there is a fundamental difference in belief between the Anglican churches and the Nonconformists.

12. The "High Church" parties hold that the formal doctrine of the Anglican churches as to the Church, the Sacraments, and the Ministry is the same as the traditional doctrine held in common by all the ancient churches of Christendom: which is profoundly different from that held by the Nonconformists. For a fuller statement of the difference between traditional and Protestant Christianity see Chapter IV. Here we can only mention some of the more important points.

According to the old view there is and can be but One Church, the New Israel, which is the historic visible Catholic Church founded by our Lord and His Apostles. No religious body can be a part of the Church unless it has right faith, true jurisdiction and valid Orders. The Church is not a voluntary association of believers, nor is any part of it such an association. It consisted once (in Gethsemane) of our Lord alone: and every one who enters it is admitted by His authority given to His Apostles and their successors. The church of England and the other Anglican churches are parts of this One Church: but the Nonconformist bodies are not, because they began as voluntary associations of believers, and because they possess neither right faith, true jurisdiction, nor valid orders. They have not right faith, because they do not accept the traditional doctrine of the Church, Sacraments, and Ministry: they have no jurisdiction, both because they have ceased to hold some necessary parts of the Catholic Faith, and because they have never received jurisdiction from the Church, against whose authority they have always protested: and they have not valid Orders, for their ministers have not been ordained by those to whom alone the power to ordain has been given.

The Nonconformist view of the Church seems to be that it is a voluntary association of all believers, and is the sum of all Christian bodies. Membership in it rests not

on baptism, but on interior experience, on conversion or assurance. This is the real cause of our quarrels over education. To the Churchman, the child is already a member of the Church by baptism, and the object of religious education is to teach him the Catholic Faith which he has already promised to believe, in order that he may be ready for the completion of his baptism at confirmation. To the Nonconformists, the child is not a member of the Church until he is converted: and to teach dogmatic religion to children seems to them to be interference with personal freedom. The two views are irreconcilable: and bitterness is caused because neither side realizes this, but each thinks that the other is trying to gain an unfair advantage.

The traditional view of the Sacraments is that God has promised to give us His power, or grace, when certain outward actions are performed. If for instance, a person has been baptized, with water and the right words, the Church teaches that that person is born again or regenerated as an absolute certainty (St. John iii. 5.; Titus iii. 5). But the outward action must be exactly right. This is why we are so particular about the exact way in which the sacraments are performed. Sacramentalism is not magic, because in magic the wizard claims to have occult power to control the gods, whereas in the sacraments we have no power to compel God to give us His grace, but He is bound by His own promise. In magic no moral preparation is required, but we cannot receive any benefit from sacramental grace without repentance and faith. We do not deny for a moment that God sometimes gives His grace without any outward sign: but we say that when this happens it is only the recipient who can be sure of it. And when we say that a sacrament is "invalid," we mean that the right conditions have not been there, as in the case of Lord Strathallan, who, when he was dying on the field of Culloden, and when there was no bread or wine at hand, was communicated with oatcake and whisky.¹ God may have given the grace that was needed (I have no doubt that in this case He did), but it was not sacramental grace. The Church is therefore very careful to see that the necessary outward sign is performed rightly,

¹ *Letters of John Mason Neale*, p. 258.

that her children may have no doubt that they have received the inward grace. One of the necessary conditions of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ is that the priest who celebrates should have been ordained by a bishop. And the Anglican Communion has no power to change this, because it is a law of the whole Catholic Church from the beginning. The same condition is necessary for the Sacrament of Absolution. The minister of confirmation¹ and of ordination must be a bishop.

Some Nonconformists may hold this view of the sacraments, but the majority reject it, and none consider it fundamental. By being "born again" they do not mean the secret gift of the "washing of regeneration," which always takes place when the outward sign of baptism is performed, but the conscious personal acceptance of Jesus Christ as one's Saviour. They do not formally hold that Jesus Christ is present under the forms of bread and wine at Holy Communion: or that the service is the re-presentation of the One Offering made on the Cross. Does any Nonconformist minister believe himself to be a sacrificing priest (in this sense)? or claim the power, given by our Lord to His Apostles, and to every priest at his ordination, to forgive sins in His Name? If so, let us thank God: for the barrier to reunion is to that extent removed. But as long as Nonconformists in general deny these doctrines, which to the "High Church" party are fundamental, there is no unity of belief between us. And until we are agreed in belief, it is useless to discuss the validity of orders: for we do not mean the same thing. The Nonconformist means by Orders the right to preach, the right to administer Holy Communion (in his sense), the right to lead the congregation in prayer. He does not, at any rate usually, claim to offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice, or to forgive sins. But it is just the power to do these two things that we mean by Orders. When he says indignantly that his Orders are valid, he means that he knows that the Holy Spirit has used his ministry as an instrument of grace to souls. We do not deny that: we gladly recognize it. But we say that because he has not

¹ In the Eastern churches the authority to administer confirmation with oil consecrated by a bishop is given to priests also at their ordination.

been ordained by a bishop, he is not what we mean by a priest. Perhaps some Nonconformists, certainly some Presbyterians, will claim that they are priests: that they have the power to offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and to forgive sins. To such a man we should say, We do not deny that you are a priest: you may be one: but we cannot prove it to our people: ¹ and before we can let you celebrate or absolve a penitent, you must receive ordination from a bishop, which may, if you wish, be in the form "If thou art not already ordained. . . ." And we are not asking him to do what we would not do ourselves under similar circumstances. If the only obstacle which hindered reunion with the Latin or Orthodox churches were that they doubted the validity of our Orders, many of us would consent to be ordained conditionally, for the sake of unity.

Many thousands of Churchmen are convinced that episcopacy is not only a matter of order, but also a matter of faith: not only a form of government, but also a necessary condition of one of the sacraments. He would be a bold man who would maintain that episcopal government always works better than presbyterian government: but it is a scriptural principle that no one can do what he has not received power to do, and there is no doubt that non-episcopal ordination neither gives nor claims to give sacerdotal powers. No bishop, no priest; no priest, no altar. If you want the altar, you must have the bishop.² And there is the further consideration, that if once a single minister, who had not been ordained by a bishop, celebrated in the Anglican Communion with the full consent of the authorities, it would show that the Anglican Communion did not consider episcopal ordination necessary: and it would not only put an end to the hope of reunion with the ancient churches of Christendom, but also, as Bishop Gore has said, it would split the Anglican Communion itself from top to bottom.

The practice of intercommunion and interchange of pulpits is objected to, because it tends to obscure real and profound differences. The "High Churchman" believes that salvation is offered to men as a corporate body

¹ Rev. T. A. Lacey, *Unity and Schism*, p. 123.

² R. J. Campbell, *A Spiritual Pilgrimage*, pp. 313, 321.

on condition of their being members of the Church, which membership is normally obtained by baptism and confirmation, and maintained by Holy Communion. The Nonconformist believes that it is offered to men as individuals: whether they afterwards join one of "the churches," whether they are baptized or communicants, is of secondary importance. No more far-reaching difference can be found among Christians. If our ministers preach in one another's pulpits,¹ if Nonconformists communicate in our churches, the effect will be to emphasize the points on which we agree and to slur over those on which we differ. That might do no harm if the points on which we differ were valueless trifles. But, on the contrary, they include things which are of the greatest importance to the reunited Church. We need the Nonconformists' emphasis on personal conversion, the sense of fellowship in a community which is found in their chapels, and their free services and ministries as a supplement to ours: we need the class system of the Methodists, and the church courts of the Presbyterians. And they need our Creed and our Liturgy, our altar and our confessional. Exchange of pulpits and premature intercommunion will simply deceive us into thinking that we do not need these things and that our work of reunion is finished, when it is scarcely begun. The less we realize our need, the greater that need is. I was once talking to a lady who had gone into the church, of which I was in charge, and who told me that she often went in there to pray, but that she was a Nonconformist, for she could not bear our long book prayers. I said that I could understand that the Prayer Book services did not suit everybody. "But," I went on, "there is one thing we have which you have not got, and that is the Altar." "Yes, I know," she said: "I love your Altar and everything to do with it." That lady is not the only Nonconformist who is attracted by the Altar. There is a growing movement among them to restore the old Catholic and Sacramental worship. We shall never gain any reunion worth having by trying to explain away our distinctive practices. We must emphasize them, and try to realize that they are not contrary but complementary to one another. The way to do this

¹ Interchange of pulpits is a kind of lesser intercommunion, and is intended to be so by those who advocate it.

is first to get to know one another, so as to get the right atmosphere : then to have special services of united prayer, if possible on neutral ground. The next step is to invite one another to speak to our better instructed people on the points which divide us ; not at the regular services, when the function of the preacher is different, but at a place and a time when the address can be followed by questions and discussion. It will be a long time before we have reached unity of belief, but this is the only way to it. When we have come to agree in doctrine, then will be the time to consider how to get round the difficulty of non-episcopal ordinations. At present all talk on that subject is premature.

13. If it could once be universally recognized that at present there is no unity of belief between us, and that reunion is impossible till there is, we should be much nearer our goal. The danger is that sentimentalists will ignore the differences, and that their hasty and premature action will confuse the issue and embitter both sides. The plain fact is this : we have a system which is sacerdotal and sacramental, and cannot be satisfactorily defended on any other ground : the Nonconformists have a system which is free and unofficial, for which most of them claim nothing that we cannot grant. If each of us could accept the system of the other, not instead of but in addition to our own, they might be used just as they are by the reunited church. Nonconformists will admit that reunion can only be brought about by their acceptance of episcopacy in some form. The Methodists might become again what they were in Wesley's time, a great extra-diocesan guild, going to the parish church in the morning and to their own chapel in the evening. The Congregationalist chapel might be not a rival but an auxiliary to the parish church, and would be directly under the bishops, like churches belonging to Religious Orders, so that its independence would be preserved. In Scotland a place could be made for the bishop in the existing Presbyterian system without much difficulty. Even the Nonconformist Communion service might be retained as a revival of the primitive love-feast (which is really what it is) : it would claim no sacrificial power for its minister, no Real Presence in the elements, but would be simply a memorial feast of bread and wine,

not in the least a rival to the Eucharist or Mass at the parish church, where the ceremonial would be entirely different. Of course, such an arrangement would require an enormous amount of patience and tact on both sides, but it would be better than schism. If only we will stop thinking in terms of "our common Christianity," "one united church of the Empire," and other sentimental but misleading phrases, and keep steadily before our eyes the right way of approach, first the spirit of charity, then unity of belief, then practical adjustment, and inter-communion last of all, we need not despair that the broken fabric of English Christianity will in time be restored to unity and peace.

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CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

I. WE have come to the end of our survey of the present condition of Christendom, and of the causes which have led to it. We shall all agree that reunion is a very difficult and complicated problem. There is no obvious conclusion, no short cut to unity. But there are certain lessons which we may learn from the facts of history and of the present situation.

First, the cause of all schisms is sin : they are the direct work of the Devil. The more we read Church history, the more clearly we are convinced of this. Every schism was the result of personal moral failure in its authors, or of a low standard of religion in the age and the country of its origin. Every attempt to reunite the Church has been blocked by worldly motives and ambitions. The schisms of the fourth and fifth centuries were due to the lowering of the Christian standard which accompanied the conversion of Constantine. The schism between Rome and Constantinople had been preceded by the ignorance and the low moral standard of the tenth century. In both cases we see not only ordinary controversial bitterness, but the absence of any notion that after all there are always two sides to a question. Ambition and hatred seem to have altogether expelled truth and charity. The violence of the language used by ecclesiastics of one another, even when we have made allowance for the unrestrained tongues of Mediterranean peoples, sometimes seems more fit for a gathering of drunken bargees than for an assembly of bishops. The Reformation, again, occurred at the end of a period when the claims of the Church were pitched as high as her moral and spiritual condition was low. The revival of pagan ideals by the Renaissance, of which Italy was the centre, had made the see which claimed to be the head of Christ's Kingdom and the mother and

mistress of all churches the central cesspool from which the streams of immorality and corruption overspread Europe, as well as the one great obstacle to every attempt at reform. The Puritan Movement in England was, at any rate in part, a rising against the immoral influence of the Renaissance on the Court : in part also against medieval abuses which the authorities of the church and the state did not trouble to remove. The Methodist movement was originally quite loyal to the church of England, and it ended in a schism because at that time she was in too feeble a state to absorb such a powerful new force into her system.

And if schism is the consequence of sin, reunion must be preceded by spiritual revival. It is a hopeful sign that the subject is so constantly before our minds to-day. But we ought to ask ourselves seriously and humbly, Are we fit instruments for God the Holy Spirit to use to bring about so great a result ? Are our patience, our loyalty to the Faith, our willingness to give up our own way, our love for God and for the souls of His people, sufficient ? We must not dare to attempt anything for reunion save in the deepest penitence and humility. Who are we, that we should succeed where our ancestors have failed ? We can only hope to succeed because it is God's work, not ours.

2. Secondly, nothing has done more to cause the schisms than the identification of the Church with the Roman Empire or with the national states which have succeeded it, and the consequent introduction of the Roman spirit and methods into the Church. It was because the decrees of Chalcedon were enforced by the Emperor on his subjects that the Egyptians and Syrians, when they wanted Home Rule, fought for Monophysite doctrine. National jealousy between Latins and Greeks was the principal cause of the schism between Rome and Constantinople. If, when Luther came forward with his quite reasonable objection to the abuses of the sale of indulgences, he had been treated as a Christian and a brother, not as a rebellious subject : if the Pope, instead of simply insisting on his submission, had done all that was possible to find out what truth there was in his protest, and to apply whatever remedy might be necessary : the schisms of the Reformation might not have been avoided, but they would have taken a less violent

course than they did. Too often the Church has demanded men's obedience before she has convinced their reason and their conscience. Those who are in authority must so act that those who are under them trust them: otherwise, however lawful their authority may be, they cannot expect it to be obeyed. Not that disobedience to lawful authority is ever right: but it is less wrong when lawful authority is used despotically.

3. We have seen that the necessary conditions for reunion are, first, the spirit of charity and goodwill: then, unity of belief: then, practical adjustment. Attempts at reunion which have not followed this road have always failed. For instance, the temporary reunion between Rome and Constantinople brought about by the Council of Florence was the result, not of love, but of fear. The Greeks did not want reunion with Rome at the price of submission: they only consented to it as a lesser evil than slavery to the Turks: and they gained nothing by their surrender of their principles, for the Turks took Constantinople after all, and the reunion did not long survive the Eastern Empire.

The three things which most of all hinder charity among Christians are contempt, ignorance, and the proselytizing temper. No man likes to feel that he is despised: and provocative and scornful language hinders the growth of the spirit of love. It is possible, for a saint, to love those who despise him, but it is quite impossible for anyone to love the person whom he himself despises. Those whose religion seems to us most absurd, and whose prejudices are most ridiculous, are nevertheless as precious in God's sight as we are. Ignorance of our neighbours' real belief is another source of suspicion and bitterness. From the Nestorian controversy to that of Kikuyu one party has judged another, not by what it has believed but by what it has been supposed to believe. Personal acquaintance has destroyed many a prejudice. Sometimes the most bitter partisans are people who could not give a clear or correct explanation of the point at issue.

The proselytizing temper is clearly incompatible with corporate reunion, for it is the most fruitful cause of bitterness and suspicion. One of the chief reasons why we are on more friendly terms with the Orthodox churches

than with the Romanists is that in the case of the former there is no proselytizing. Bishop Blyth on our side and the Bishop of Zhitcha (Father Nicolai Velimirovitch) on theirs have even refused to accept would-be converts, and have told them to remain in their own Communion. It is not possible to go so far as this where there is not unity of belief. If I think that the teaching of a particular Communion is false or defective in matters of fundamental importance, I cannot refuse to accept a member of that Communion who comes to me and asks for instruction. But we are not in all cases bound to conduct a campaign for the conversion of our fellow Christians who do not believe rightly. Our forefathers thought that anyone who was not in communion with the Church would lose his soul: but we do not take so unqualified a view. We believe that to be out of communion with the Church, to believe false doctrine, to live without the sacramental grace of confirmation and absolution and Holy Communion, involves great spiritual loss, but it does not mean that a man who is practising in good faith the religion in which he was brought up, and has never learnt any better, will go to hell. After all, even in this Christian country, all practising Christians taken together are a small minority of the population: and it is for the Church to judge whether she will win more souls by trying to reconcile the separate bodies as bodies, or by trying to proselytize individuals and to weaken the bodies to which they belong. The two policies are incompatible with one another. If, for instance, we brought over to the church of England all those Wesleyans who are most in sympathy with her, it would be much harder to reconcile the others. The Wesleyan Methodist Connexion, as a corporate body, is more than the sum of all its members as individuals: it has a method, a spirit, a tradition, which we hope one day will be restored to its original place among the treasures of the Catholic Church. Therefore corporate reunion is better, if it can be brought about, than the proselytizing of individuals. But there are cases in which corporate reunion is impossible, or at least so improbable as not to be worth trying. It is for each Communion to decide whether, in a particular case it will aim at corporate reunion, or at the conversion of individuals. Where corporate reunion is being

sought, converts should only be accepted who come of their own accord: and an agreement should be made between the authorities of the two Communions on the treatment of those who wish to transfer themselves from one to the other. No Anglican, I suppose, would in any way resent the action of one of our people who joined one of the Orthodox churches in an Orthodox country; because it would not mean that he had denied or deserted us, or wanted to weaken or to destroy our church. Agreement would be more difficult where one side denied that the other side had valid orders. But it is possible to imagine that, for instance, the Anglican and Wesleyan Communions might come to such a state of cordiality that both were agreed to prepare the way as much as possible for future union, to take place when certain practical difficulties were overcome; *that doctrinal agreement had been reached*: and that in the meantime, Wesleyans might be confirmed and become communicants in the Anglican churches without ceasing to be Wesleyans (there has already been an instance of this with the sanction of the Bishop of London), and Anglican Churchmen might, if they wished, attend Wesleyan services other than the Communion, without any disloyalty to the Church. But of course such a state of things could not be brought about by individuals. It would have to be formally consented to by the highest authorities on both sides, and to receive general approval. A minority which refused to accept the agreement, or which went beyond the limits permitted, would wreck the whole scheme. And it would be essential, before such an agreement could be made, that unity of belief in fundamentals should have been attained. But from this we are still a long way distant.

4. For there can be no reunion of any kind where there is not agreement in fundamentals. "Can two walk together except they be agreed?" There may be differences of belief in non-essential matters: but whatever anyone on either side regards as a necessary part of Divine Revelation must form part of the terms of agreement. There is at the present day widespread objection to "dogma," which must mean, either that large numbers of people are attached to Christianity by sentiment, but have ceased to hold it with their intellects: or that men resent being told

that this or that is true, and expected to believe it, without being told why it is true, what the evidence for it is, or on what grounds it claims their acceptance. Owing to the undue emphasis laid on feeling by the Evangelical Movement, many people do not realize that Christianity consists not only of a life of religious practices such as prayer, repentance, and Communion, and of a moral code, but also of an intellectual system, which excludes other systems. A Christian cannot be a Pantheist, or a Materialist, or a Theosophist, any more than he can be a thief or a drunkard or an adulterer, and practise his religion too. We are quite aware of the limitations of dogma. We do not imagine that to confess that the Son is of one substance with the Father is to know all about the mysterious relations of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity. We know that there are many things which are beyond human language or human thought, and that the words of the Creed are but an attempt to express Divine mysteries in human language: but we also believe that the definitions of the Church were guided by the Holy Spirit, that they are the nearest approach to the expression of the truth which man can reach, and that they may not be changed: certainly not by any less authority than that which made them, the voice of a General Council accepted by the whole Church.

5. The three conditions for reunion are charity, to obtain which we must abolish proselytizing: unity of belief in fundamentals, which involves a dogmatic basis of agreement; and practical adjustment, because it is not easy for communities which have become accustomed to separation to unite in a single corporate body. There have been suggestions for a federal "League of Churches": and Mr. Shakespeare tells us how the English Nonconformist bodies have arranged the terms of a federal union, accompanied by all sorts of safeguards for the freedom of the different parties to it. But he sees that "federation is not a practical method of union between Nonconformity and the English church. There is no middle way between the present separation and corporate union."¹ The same is true of reunion with the Orthodox churches. What we are aiming at looks like federation, but is not. The constitutions of the United States and of the Dominion of Canada

¹ *The Churches at the Cross-Roads*, p. 166.

are apparently very similar. But the former came into existence through the voluntary union of independent states, and is therefore a federation: the latter owes its origin to a grant from the Crown.¹ The unity of the Church is of the latter kind. We cannot restore communion with the Orthodox churches, reserving certain rights to ourselves: we have no power to do so. We are a group of provinces of the Universal Church, and are necessarily subject to the decisions of the whole Body. It is true that we stand for local autonomy: we have a life, an atmosphere, a point of view of our own, which are not dependent upon any central authority. We are not the less good Catholics because we are good Anglicans, any more than a good Yorkshireman finds that his loyalty to his county makes him a worse Englishman. We claim the right to make and execute our own laws of discipline: as a free national church, we are not bound by disciplinary canons passed in remote times for entirely different conditions, however widespread their authority may have been.² The fact, for instance, that nowhere in ancient times were the clergy allowed to marry after ordination causes us no uneasiness. Our custom is not contrary to the revealed Faith. Marriage after ordination may have been rightly forbidden in other ages and other countries, but it suits us. At the same time our local laws and customs may be revised by the Universal Church, and we must be ready to submit in all things to the judgment of a free General Council, whenever it shall please God to allow one to be called, trusting in God the Holy Spirit, that He will direct His Church rightly in the future as He has in the past.

6. Nevertheless, the reunited Church will have to be much freer and much more elastic than any existing Communion. The churches and communions of Christendom represent particular races, or nations, or temperaments: except the Roman Communion, in which unity is enforced everywhere by the ordinary methods of despotism. But the reunited Church will be bound together not by the power of any central despotic govern-

¹ T. A. Lacey, *Unity and Schism*, p. 126.

² There are disciplinary canons involving universal and permanent principles, such as the indissolubility of marriage: and these cannot be changed.

ment, but by the heavenly bond of mutual love and service, as it was in the early centuries. And so the greatest diversity of methods of worship, of customs, and of organization, which is consistent with the maintenance of revealed truth, will have to be permitted. It is here that the contribution of Protestantism will come in. The Reformation would not have been so successful unless it had stood for something which was wanting in the Church at that time: if it has now ended in failure (for it is hard to deny that Protestantism as a whole has failed), it is because the truth for which it stood was less than the truth which it rejected. But the reunited Church is to include and combine both.

Unless this freedom is to become anarchy, the Church must have a very strong government. The Papacy will not do because it is despotic, to say nothing of its doctrinal errors: and men are no longer willing to be governed by a despot, even in ecclesiastical affairs. Besides, for the last five hundred years it has been exclusively Italian; since 1415 there has been only one non-Italian Pope, the unhappy reformer Adrian VI (1522-3), who was a complete failure. We must have a form of government which shall combine Divine right with representation of the whole Church. How this is to be brought about, so as to give full weight to the rights of the successors of the Apostles and at the same time to retain the confidence of the people, the Church herself, acting through her local and general synods, must determine.

But freedom for the Church from outside control is essential. The Act of Uniformity and the Act for the Submission of the Clergy must go. They are anachronisms in the present state of the world. When the state has seen that no one is being unjustly treated, that the revenues of the church are not being wasted, and that she is not doing anything which is contrary to the public interest, its interference with ecclesiastical affairs should cease. If it is willing to allow the church to hallow its institutions with her rites, to crown and anoint the King, to receive official recognition for her great services of prayer and thanksgiving on national occasions, so much the better. But it is for the good of neither church nor state that the working of the church should be constantly interrupted

by the question "Is it legal?" and it is certain that men who have been accustomed to manage their own ecclesiastical affairs will not submit to interference of this kind.

7. We have seen that systems which appear to be contrary to one another may really be capable of being fitted together. It must be universally recognized that reunion on an "undenominational" basis is worse than useless. Two ladies agree to have tea together: one has tea and milk, the other has tea and sugar. What would be the use of their giving up, the one her milk, the other her sugar, so that they may both drink their tea without either? Let us each share what she has with the other, and both will be gainers. So with the different Christian bodies: if each puts all that is good in its own methods and its own traditions into the common stock, all will gain: but if each gives up all that is distinctive of itself, what is left will be a colourless and watery Christianity, hardly worth calling a religion, and certainly quite unfit to support the great spiritual venture of Reunion.

8. The most difficult part of the task of reunion is the combination of traditional and Protestant Christianity into a single whole. If the two positions were absolutely contrary to one another the task would be impossible, except by the wholesale conversion of one side or the other. But we have seen that they are, at any rate to some extent, complementary to one another. Modern Protestantism is not so much a positive system contrary to traditional Christianity, as a denial of certain traditional doctrines, the place of which in the Christian scheme its adherents have not understood.

It has long been observed that the Anglican Communion holds a unique position in Christendom. Through the accident of the Elizabethan compromise it contains representatives of both the traditional and the Protestant side. The division which elsewhere is sharply marked is here blurred: the "Catholic" party is more liberal, the "Evangelical" party more traditionalist than they would be if they were not in communion with one another; and there are many people who seem to be influenced by both about equally. The words of Count Joseph de Maistre, the Ultramontane leader, in which he speaks of the English Church as holding out one hand to Rome and the

other to those whom Rome cannot reach, have often, perhaps too often, been quoted. But it is almost impossible to imagine that if there were no Anglican Communion, any bridge could be built between the old Latin and Orthodox churches and the heirs of the Reformation: or that any general reunion could be accomplished, unless indeed the dreams of Vladimir Solovieff or Robert Hugh Benson came true,¹ and the Christian world, forced to choose between faith and freedom, took refuge under the Roman umbrella. But if we believe that the modern outlook on life is not wholly of the devil, and that our Lord did not intend His Church to be an ecclesiastical counterpart to the empire of the Kaiser, it is to the Anglican Communion that we must look for the accomplishment of our ideal. The hand of God has not preserved our English church through the storms of the Reformation and the Great Rebellion, through the deadness of the Hanoverian age, and through the tremendous struggles of the Catholic Revival, to let her sink at last into a lifeless state-church like that of Prussia, or break up into a mass of struggling sects.

It is not to be thought of, that the flood
 Of British freedom, which, to the open sea
 Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
 Hath flowed, with pomp of waters, unwithstood,
 Roused though it be full often to a mood
 Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
 That this most famous stream in bogs and sands
 Should perish: and to evil and to good
 Be lost for ever.

God has given us our unique history and position in order that we may gather into one the scattered members of His flock, "to rebuild the old waste places, to raise up the foundations of many generations, and to be called the repairers of the breach, the restorers of paths to dwell in."

9. But is our Communion fit to carry out so great a task? We may believe with all our hearts that God has shaped our history for this end, and yet confess that in our present condition we are rather a hindrance than a help to the reunion of Christendom. Before anything can be

¹ Solovieff dreamt of the reunited Church as a small and persecuted remnant: Benson, as the mistress of the world.

done, before we can hope to be reconciled either with the Orthodox churches, or with the Nonconformists, we must in repentance and humility amend our own faults.

First, we are divided among ourselves. We must have unity within our own Communion before we can come to any agreement with those outside. We have not an atmosphere of charity among ourselves. Every party, almost every parish, is suspicious of its neighbours. We all look out of the corners of our eyes at our fellow-Churchmen. They are too high, or too low, or too broad, or too "spiky," or too Protestant. Nor is contempt wanting: some of us go so far as to despise the church of England of which we are members. Even the proselytizing temper is not wanting. Some of us are much more anxious to win converts for our own party than for the Church. We hardly regard our neighbours of a different school of thought as Churchmen at all.

And then we have no unity of belief in fundamentals. Apart from those who frankly make use of our want of discipline to deny what the church of England plainly teaches, we have at least two, if not more, interpretations of what her teaching is. This is the result of the Elizabethan compromise. That compromise was intended for the purpose of uniting the nation in religion. It succeeded in staving off civil war, but it did not succeed in maintaining permanent religious unity. The time has now come to consider whether the compromise under which we have lived for so many generations is any longer possible. Are we justified, in the present state of the world, in saying "Some of us believe that the English church teaches the Eucharistic Sacrifice: others believe that she denies it. You can take either view"? There are two ways of escape from this situation. One is by making a fresh schism. I think most of us will agree that this would be utterly disastrous. It would destroy all hope of the reunion of Christendom by means of us, and it would involve the loss of innumerable souls, especially among the ill-educated and ill-balanced. The other is by getting to see one another's point of view, and by accepting all that is sound and true in it. The beliefs of the "Catholic" and of the "Evangelical," so far as they are positive, not merely negative, are complementary, not contrary, to one another. The Eucharistic worship

of the "Catholic" is but the outward expression of the doctrine of the Atonement so dear to the "Evangelical": and the conservatism which opposes any improvement or adorning of the services of the Church is often not the expression of false doctrine, but of that love of the accustomed order and hatred of change which in most ages and countries is the bulwark of Catholicism. I suppose that what divides us most is what is sometimes called Sacerdotalism: the doctrine that the priest has power to offer sacrifice and to absolve sinners. One party holds this to be an essential part of the Christian Faith: another believes it to be a superstition imported from Paganism. They cannot both be right. But unless they can come to agree, the Reunion of Christendom is a hopeless dream. For we cannot put forward proposals for reunion with anyone until we have unity of belief in fundamentals among ourselves. We cannot honestly tell the Eastern churches that we believe, like them, in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and in the sacramental character of confirmation, absolution, and ordination, and at the same time tell the Nonconformists that we hold the same views as they do about the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and that we are willing to communicate with bodies who neither have nor believe in any of those three rites, in any sense which traditional Christianity can accept. Nor is the power of the priest to offer sacrifice and to pronounce absolution a matter which can be treated as indifferent. Even if we were content to treat it so, both our Orthodox and our Nonconformist friends would turn away from us as people too frivolous to be taken seriously. Is it too much to hope for, that these doctrines should become generally accepted, like Baptismal Regeneration, which was so bitterly opposed seventy years ago? that Evangelicals should admit that teaching which dates back to the earliest ages of the Church, which is not without the sanction of both Bible and Prayer Book, and which is held by many who are as learned in Holy Scripture, and (may I add?) as much opposed to the Papal Supremacy and the other errors of Rome as they are themselves, cannot be superstitious or contrary to the word of God? If only we could, without surrendering any of our own beliefs, accept those of our brethren as complementary to them, there is nothing that,

with God's grace of love in our hearts, we could not do. At any rate, we can all be Churchmen first, and party men second. The church of England is God's Church in this land, guided by the Holy Spirit : but we have no reason to suppose that our own party receives any special Divine guidance. We need more loyalty, and more love. If only we could, without surrendering any of our own beliefs, accept those of our brethren as complementary to them, there is nothing that, with God's grace of love in our hearts, we could not do.

10. Secondly, our want of discipline lowers us in the eyes of our neighbours. This is not Queen Elizabeth's fault. The church of England had plenty of discipline in her days, and long afterwards. Nor are the other churches of our Communion without discipline. It is the church of England in the narrow sense that suffers from this abuse. Comprehensiveness is a good thing, within limits. Over-definition has often done harm. But it is, as we have seen, impossible to reunite Christendom on the basis of the Elizabethan compromise : and our comprehensiveness to-day far exceeds anything that Queen Elizabeth ever dreamed of. The church of England may speak uncertainly about the Eucharistic Sacrifice : but there can be no doubt as to her teaching about the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection. Yet there are men holding high office in her ministry who teach that our Lord was the son of Joseph, and that His Body went to corruption in the grave, or at least, that such views may lawfully be held and taught in the Church. No decent Christian is going to think of reunion with a church which permits such doctrine to be taught by her ministers. We stand for liberty, but liberty without limits is not liberty but anarchy. We do not want to persecute anyone : but it is absolutely essential that the Church of England should have the power exercised by the smallest political society, the power of expulsion. The reason why this elementary claim is refused is that there is amongst us a small but influential group of fossilized survivals from the Middle Ages who still think that church and state are different aspects of one community ; but that since all the members of a modern State do not hold the same beliefs, the power of spiritual discipline is placed in the hands of the civil ruler, and any Englishman may

communicate at the altars and even serve in the ministry of the church without being in any way bound by her creeds : not seeing that that view logically involves, if not the Statute De Heretico Comburendo, at any rate the denial of civil rights to dissenters from the State religion. Happily the temper of our age and country will not permit them to carry their theory to its logical conclusion. But it is intolerable that the recovery of the most elementary powers of self-government for the English church should be blocked by that small minority of her members which apparently prefers an unreal unity based on common citizenship and State control to the true unity which can only be found in free acceptance of the same standard of belief and worship.

What is needed is a clear and authoritative statement of what is held to be essential, what is permissible, and what is forbidden : and power to remove from the ministry and from the communion of the church those who have deliberately and finally declared themselves unable to accept her fundamental beliefs. Such a power would have to be carefully and sparingly used. Englishmen are very sensitive to anything that even seems like injustice : and the frequent abuse of the power of excommunication in times gone by makes the need of caution all the greater. But the power must be there, and the holders of it must be trusted by the mass of Church people. At present the discipline of the English church is like that of a school-master, who put in his prospectus : " Our principle is to have as few rules as possible : we believe in free development and education by kindness." One day a parent came down to see his son. He found the school a perfect bear-garden. The boys were all fighting and playing all sorts of tricks : every now and then the master, who had given up all hope of quelling the disturbance, would suddenly dash into the throng, seize a boy, and thrash him. Freedom is one thing : want of discipline is another.

Perhaps the time has not yet come for a clear statement of faith. Since we have not reached unity of belief in fundamentals, such a statement might cause a schism. But a proper system of courts, recognized by all as spiritually valid, free from state control, and commanding general confidence, is an immediate necessity,

II. There is not, and there never will be, that spirit of fellowship and loyalty within the English church which is essential for her own internal life, to say nothing of the reunion of Christendom, until she is free to manage her own affairs and to appoint her own officers. At present her whole constitution is out of date. It has not been altered since the days when the whole population belonged to the Church, when the great majority of the nation lived all their lives in country parishes, and when the danger of civil war on account of religion was so great that the state was obliged to keep a tight hold of the organization of the church in the interests of public order.¹ Because we cannot bring about reforms by constitutional means, we are driven to unconstitutional action. No one can stop the extremists on both wings from doing whatever they please ; there is no security under our present system of patronage, in any diocese and in many parishes, that the next bishop or vicar will not undo all the work of his predecessor. The bishops have so little constitutional power, that they are forced to appear to be tyrants. They are not trusted, as a class, because the church has no voice in their appointment. We suffer the evils of despotic government, without its efficiency. If the laws are to be obeyed, their validity must be beyond question : if they are to be enforced, their administration must be in the hands of bishops who can be trusted : if the bishops are to be trusted, the church must control the appointment of them. It is no use to say that the present system gives us good bishops in practice. However good a bishop may be, we have no security unless we can appoint his successor. The only remedy is the restoration of proper synodical government. When the man with a real grievance can get it removed by constitutional means, bitterness and disloyalty will gradually die away. If the Church is to be reunited, we must be prepared to allow great diversity of methods. As long as the fundamental doctrines are loyally taught, and the Sacraments are administered properly and reverently, we may permit the

¹ This was written before the passing of the Enabling Act, which is partly a means of educating Church public opinion, partly a device to make the present system less intolerable. But the English church will never have the freedom which is necessary for reunion as long as Parliament retains any control over her doctrines and discipline.

widest freedom both of thought and practice, provided that everything done in the church :

- (i.) is not contrary to the Catholic Faith ;
- (ii.) is sanctioned by the bishop of the diocese ;
- (iii.) is practised on the clear understanding that the bishop has entire control and that in liturgical matters the Anglican churches are entirely independent.

We shall never be really free as long as any important section of the church maintains that the British Parliament possesses spiritual authority, or that the English church has power to alter fundamental doctrines, or that the law or practice of the so-called " Western Church " has any binding force or authority over members of the Anglican Communion.

12. But far more than constitutional reform, more even than unity of belief, do the Anglican churches need a new spirit and a changed heart. Think of it ! Here is the most wonderful opportunity ever given to any church in the whole history of Christendom : to be, in a new age, when all the world is looking for guidance, the leader of the new generation, the new governing classes, the new nations in Europe, Asia, and America, to gather them all into one, and to bring them to the feet of Christ. Neither Romanism nor Protestantism can take it : we can. But so great a spiritual adventure, the like of which has not been seen since the Church in the Roman Empire set out to convert her barbarian conquerors, requires a correspondingly high spiritual standard. It can only be undertaken by a church which is red-hot with zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls : which has cast aside all thoughts of worldliness and of comfort, of pride and of selfishness. which is eager to sacrifice even her own life and her own spiritual needs, for the sake of the healing of the nations and the mending of Christ's seamless robe. Nothing but the firmest faith, the most unwearying perseverance, the most complete self-sacrifice and the most absolute reliance on the power of the Holy Spirit will avail to overcome the devices of Satan, who always puts forth all his strength and cunning to wreck every attempt to reunite the Church. But are these the qualities which we associate with the word Anglican ? We know, and the world knows, that, on the contrary, it stands for a religion of comfort and compro-

mise, of half-tones and hesitations, of Cathedral Mattins and Evensong and Hymns Ancient and Modern : a religion of dignified conventionality, without heroism, without romance, without imagination, without fervour, without depth. This is the religion of the church of England as it appears to the man in the street, even now : and it is not a religion which is going to undertake a great spiritual adventure. But then it is not the real Anglicanism. This is not the religion for which King Charles and Archbishop Laud suffered martyrdom : which sent Bishop Mackenzie to die in his fever-haunted hut in Central Africa, and Bishop Hannington to face the savages of Uganda, and Bishop Bompas to live alone for thirty years in the frozen plains of Northern Canada. In July, 1914, we thought that England was decadent, but we were wrong. So now we have got to show that the religion of the English church is not only a religion for old ladies and cathedral dignitaries, but a religion for men. And we shall only do that by self-sacrifice. Some of us think that the church of England is a moral policeman : others, that she is an organization for running clubs and improving social conditions : others, that she is a debating society for speculative theologians : others, that her chief object is to satisfy the appetite of the pious for spiritual luxuries. We have got to ram into the head and the heart of every member of the church that we are primarily none of these, but an invading army in an enemy's country : that the whole world is perishing for want of what we alone can give it : that the only importance of this life is that it is a preparation for the next, and that the glory of God and the salvation of souls come first and everything else nowhere. What use can our Lord have for a church which builds magnificent shrines at home and leaves her missionaries to starve ? Can any of us read without a pang of conscience that terrible denunciation of the Laodiceans of old ? " I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot : I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of My mouth. Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing, and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked : I counsel thee to buy of Me gold tried

in the fire, that thou mayest be rich." Gold tried in the fire: have not we suffered less persecution than almost any church in Christendom? If we are to fulfil our appointed task, we must be ready to sacrifice, if need be, not merely money, not merely worldly position, but what is far harder to give up than these, our own way: to give up our English pride and our national and ecclesiastical prejudices, to bear with expressions of religion which offend all our hereditary feelings, to count all things well lost if only the Will of God be done. For except we be converted and become as little children, we shall in no case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

13. Let us turn our eyes once more to the point from which we set out. Our Lord founded His Church to lead the praises of creation, to keep His revelation unaltered, to proclaim His gospel to mankind, and to distribute His grace. The greater part of the Church is united and free. It is only we here in this world who are still leaving His work undone because we cannot agree among ourselves. And yet, beneath our divisions, the Body is One: and God the Holy Spirit can make it visibly one here, as it is in the unseen world. May He grant that we may yet see One Holy Catholic Church, gathered out of every nation: united in the bonds of love, of which the one Creed and the one Baptism and the one Holy Sacrament of the Altar will be the outward signs: free outwardly, because she will not be identified with any state, or class, or political party: free inwardly, because all her local communities will live their own life, and exercise their own discipline, within the limits of the common faith and order: speaking with a single voice on faith and morals, and guiding the nations into the ways of peace. We may apply to the Church, as she exists already in the purpose of God, the words of one of our poets, written of a different ideal, though perhaps not so different as he thought:

In this day is the sign of her shown to you,

Choose ye, to live or to die.

Now is her harvest in hand:

Now is her light in the land:

Choose ye, to sink or to stand,

For the might of her strength is made known to you

Now, and her arm is on high.

Fear not for any man's terrors ;
 Wait not for any man's word ;
 Patiently, each in his place,
 Gird up your loins to the race :
 Following the print of her pace,
 Purged of desires and of errors,
 March to the tune ye have heard.
 March to the tune of the voice of her,
 Breathing the balm of her breath,
 Loving the light of her skies.
 Blessed is he on whose eyes
 Dawns but her light as he dies ;
 Blessed are ye that make choice of her,
 Equal to life and to death.
 Ye that when faith is nigh frozen,
 Ye that when hope is nigh gone
 Still, over wastes, over waves,
 Still, among wrecks, among graves,
 Follow the splendour that saves,
 Happy, her children, her chosen,
 Loyally led of her on . . .
 She, without shelter or station,
 She, beyond limit or bar,
 Urges to slumberless speed
 Armies that famish, that bleed,
 Sowing their lives for her seed,
 That their dust may rebuild her a nation,
 That their souls may relight her a star ;
 Happy are all they that follow her ;
 Them shall no trouble cast down ;
 Though she slay them, yet shall they trust in her,
 For unsure there is nought nor unjust in her,
 Blemish is none, neither rust in her ;
 Though it threaten, the night shall not swallow her,
 Tempest and storm shall not drown.

For the Church is the Body of Christ, Who is God Almighty :
 and we are His members, and the world is all under His
 control : and He has said, " Fear not, little flock, for it is
 the Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom."

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- J. N. FIGGIS, *Churches in the Modern State*.
 T. A. LACEY, *Unity and Schism*.
 M. R. NEWBOLT, *The Missionary Problem*.

GLOSSARY OF WORDS USED IN THIS BOOK

- Absolution.* Power to forgive the sinner who repents and confesses his sin : bestowed by our Lord on His Apostles (St. John xx. 23) and on every priest at his ordination : administered to the faithful by means of the Sacrament of Penance.
- Anglican.* A general term for the church of England after the Reformation, and the churches in communion with her.
- Archbishop.* A title of honour often given to Metropolitans (which see) : in Russia, to any bishop.
- Arian.* A follower of the Alexandrian priest Arius, who held that our Lord was not " Very God of Very God, of one substance with the Father," but had been created.
- Atonement.* The doctrine that our Lord died on the Cross to save us from sin and to reconcile us to the Father.
- Autocephalous or autonomous.* Used of a local church, when it is under no patriarch but subject only to a General Council : such as the church of Cyprus from ancient times, and the church of England in the modern period.
- Bishop.* A member of the first order in the Christian ministry, which alone possesses the power to ordain, and (in the Latin and Anglican churches) to confirm.
- Canon.* (i.) A law passed by one of the synods or constitutional assemblies of the Church.
(ii.) A priest on the staff of a cathedral or collegiate church.
- Cathedral.* The principal church of a diocese, containing the bishop's " cathedra " or throne.
- Catholic.* (i.) Belonging to the whole Church, as opposed to local churches : or to the true Church, as opposed to heretical and schismatical bodies.
(ii.) One who is in possession of all his rights as a member of the Church.
(iii.) A name given to that party in the Anglican Com-

munion which maintains, with Bishop Ken, the faith and practice of the undivided Church, as it rejects Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.

Celibate. One who has promised never to marry, in order to devote his or her whole life to the service of God.

Chapter. The body of priests attached to a cathedral, or collegiate church such as Westminster Abbey.

Church. (i.) A building set apart for Divine worship (from *kyriakon*, the Lord's house).

(ii.) The remnant of Israel which accepted our Lord, and was formed by His Apostles into a universal society, the New Israel or Catholic Church.

(iii.) A local or national society forming part of the Catholic Church and subject to her laws.

Communion. (i.) A sharing of any kind.

(ii.) The union of all Christians, living and departed, in Christ ("Communion of Saints").

(iii.) The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the feast in which the faithful share.

(iv.) A group of Christians who receive Holy Communion together without restriction, e.g. the Roman Communion, the Anglican Communion.

Confirmation. The sacramental gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of the bishop's hands. (In the Eastern churches, and occasionally in the Latin churches, Confirmation is administered by a priest with oil consecrated by a bishop.)

Denomination. An independent religious body, within or without the Church.

Despotism. Government by an irresponsible person or group of persons.

Diocese. The area within which a bishop exercises his authority.

Dogma. A short, authoritative statement of the truth revealed by God to men.

Ecclesiastical. Belonging to the Church.

Episcopacy. Government by bishops.

Episcopate. The bishops taken together.

Erastian. One who holds that spiritual authority should be exercised by the civil ruler.

Eucharist. A name for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper regarded as an act of thanksgiving.

- Evangelical.* A party in the Anglican Communion which arose in the eighteenth century and lays special emphasis on personal conversion and on the Atonement.
- Excommunication.* The heaviest of spiritual punishments, deprivation of the right to receive Holy Communion.
- Gallican.* (i.) A name for the French church.
(ii.) The party in the Roman Communion which resisted the more extreme claims of the Pope and stood for the rights of national churches: opposed to the Ultramontanes. Its headquarters were in France for about five hundred years (1370-1870).
- Heresy.* Refusal by a member of the Church to surrender an opinion formally condemned by her: a form of the sin of pride.
- Hierarchy.* The three orders of the ministry, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.
- High Church.* A phrase used in different senses: in this book it means that section of the Anglican Communion which holds that the Anglican churches are fundamentally different from the other reformed bodies.
- Hussite.* A follower of John Huss, the Czech reformer, in the fifteenth century.
- Incarnation.* The doctrine that God the Son took upon Him human nature (St. John i. 14).
- Irreformable.* That cannot be altered.
- Jurisdiction.* The right of a local church, bishop, or priest, to work in a particular district.
- Kinds, Communion in both.* The reception by all the faithful of the consecrated Wine as well as the Bread, in Holy Communion: forbidden by the Roman See, except in the case of Uniats.
- Liberal.* A name for the party in the Anglican Communion which objects to emphasis on definite dogmatic belief. Also applied to all who are not very rigid in their beliefs, e.g. Liberal Catholic.
- Liturgy.* A name for the service of Holy Communion, especially in the East.
- Low Church.* Used in this book to mean that section of the Anglican Communion which denies that there is any fundamental difference between the Anglican churches and Nonconformity.

Mass. A name for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, especially in its sacrificial aspect.

Materialist. One who denies that anything exists which cannot be perceived by the senses.

Medieval. Belonging to the Middle Ages: from about the sixth to the fifteenth century.

Metropolitan. The chief bishop of a province or group of dioceses: in Russia, where there are no provinces, the title of the bishops of the three chief sees, Moscow, Petrograd, and Kieff.

Monophysitism. The doctrine that our Lord has but one nature, held by the national churches of Egypt, Abyssinia, Syria, and Armenia, in opposition to the Council of Chalcedon.

Moslem. A follower of Mohammed, the Arabian prophet.

Nestorian. One who holds the heretical opinion attributed to Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, that the Son of Mary became God through the descent of the Word upon Him.

Nonconformist. A member of one of the Protestant bodies separated from the Anglican Communion.

Old Catholics. Those who separated from the Roman Communion because they could not accept the decree of the Vatican Council on Papal Infallibility.

Orthodox. (i.) One who holds the true Faith.

(ii.) Technical name of the Greek church and of the churches in communion with her.

Orders. The sacrament by which a bishop, priest, or deacon is given the power which belongs to his office.

Pantheist. One who believes that God is not personal, but the sum of all that exists: that He did not create the universe, but that He *is* the universe.

Patriarch. One of the five chief bishops among whom the Church in the Roman Empire was divided. In the Orthodox Eastern Communion, Moscow afterwards took the place of Rome. The Armenian and other separated churches have their own patriarchs; and so have now the Serb and Roumanian Orthodox churches. In the Roman Communion the name is given to certain bishops as a title of honour.

Pope. Originally a name for any important bishop: now confined to the bishop of Rome.

Præmunire. A medieval statute, the penalty for breaking which was confiscation of all property and imprisonment during the King's pleasure.

Priest. A member of the second order of the ministry, with power to offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and to absolve sinners.

Primate. The chief metropolitan of a national church.

Proselytize. To seek to convert anyone from one religion to another.

Protestant. (i.) One of the followers of Luther who protested against the decree of Speyer.

(ii.) Formerly applied to all who had rebelled against the authority of Rome.

(iii.) Those who accept the general position of the Continental Reformation. The Irish and American branches of the Anglican Communion officially retain the title in sense (ii.) : the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury rejected it in sense (iii.) in 1689.

Province. A group of dioceses organized under a Metropolitan.

Regeneration. The gift of the new birth, conveyed by baptism (St. John iii. 5. Titus iii. 5).

Renaissance. The revival of the study of ancient Greek literature in the fifteenth century.

Romanist or Roman Catholic. The churches in communion with Rome, as reformed and centralized by the Council of Trent. The term should not be used of any person or church before 1562.

Sacerdotal. Belonging to a priest : especially the powers of sacrifice and absolution.

Sacrifice. An offering to God. The Christian Sacrifice is the One Offering of our Lord's life, continually offered in Heaven and in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Schism. Separation between Christians.

See. The seat or residence of a bishop.

Supremacy. Absolute authority, from which there is no appeal.

Synod. The official assembly of bishops : or of the bishop and his clergy.

Theologian. One who is learned in the science of God's dealings with man.

Theosophists. A sect of Indian origin, in some ways resembling the ancient Gnostics, which believes in the transmigration

of souls, and denies the chief Christian doctrines. See Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*.

Transubstantiation. The doctrine that in the Holy Eucharist the "substance," or permanent basis of matter, becomes the Body and Blood of Christ, while the "accidents," that is the qualities of being able to be seen, touched, weighed, etc., remain bread and wine.

Ultramarine. A party which wishes to assimilate the doctrine and practice of the Anglican Communion to those of Rome.

Ultramontane. The party in the Roman Communion which exalted the claims of the Pope as much as possible. It was given this name by the French because it was chiefly found beyond the mountains, in Italy. Since 1870 the whole Roman Communion is committed to the Ultramontane doctrine of Papal Infallibility.

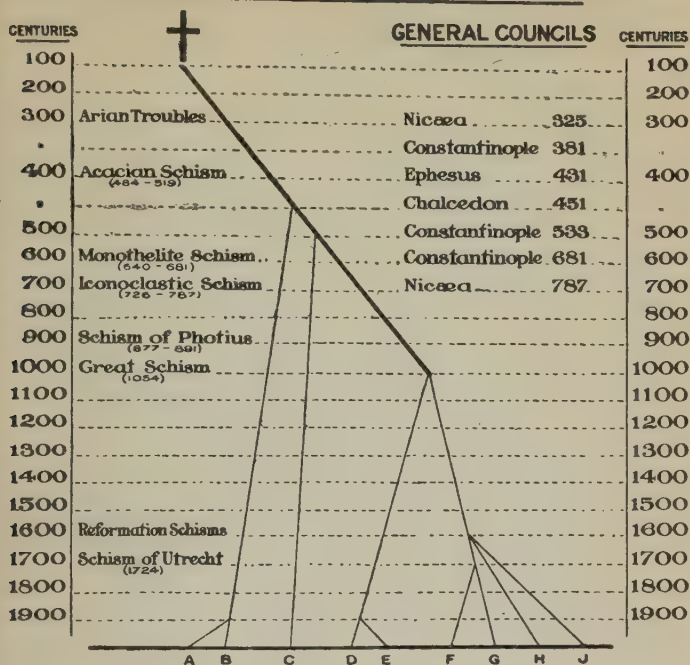
Undenominationalism. The attempt to bring Christians of different bodies together by treating the points in which they differ as negligible.

Valid. Duly performed, and therefore publicly recognized as genuine.

Zoroastrianism. The ancient religion of Persia, originally proclaimed by the prophet Zoroaster ; now represented by the Parsees of Western India.

APPENDICES

I. The HIERARCHIES of CHRISTENDOM.



- A. Reformed church of Malabar ("Mar Thoma Christians").
- B. "Monophysite" churches of the Armenians, Jacobites (Syria and Malabar), Copts (Egypt), and Abyssinians.
- C. "Nestorian" church of the Assyrians.
- D. Orthodox Eastern Communion (Greece, Russia, Yugo Slavia, etc).
- E. Church of the Bulgarian Exarchate.
- F. Old Catholic Communion.
- G. Roman Communion.
- H. Anglican Communion.
- I. Swedish church (Lutheran).

The Unitas Fratrum (Moravian church) is not mentioned here, because its Orders, the ultimate origin of which is unknown, are most probably invalid.

II. THE ANGLICAN CHURCHES (1920)

Name.	No. of Provinces.	No. of Dioceses.
1. Church of England and Wales	3	42
2. Church of Ireland	2	13
(These two are the ancient churches of England and Ireland, which have preserved their succession of bishops through the Reformation. The rival Romanist church in both countries is of modern origin).		
3. "Episcopal" Church of Scotland	1	7
(The present Scottish church dates from 1662, when episcopacy was reintroduced from England.)		
4. "Protestant Episcopal" Church in the United States	8	91
5. Church of England in Canada	4	25
6. Church of the Province of the West Indies	1	7
7. Church of the Province of South Africa	1	12
8. Church of the Province of India and Ceylon	1	13
9. Church of England in Australia	4	24
10. Church of the Province of New Zealand	1	7
11. Japanese Church (Nippon Sei Kokwai)	1	7
12. Chinese Church	1	11
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Total	28	286

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